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Compiled and Edited under the Direction of
LYMAN HORACE WEEKS

AND
EDWIN M. BACON

Author of "Hist. of the Province of Massachusetts Bay"

Editor

This work is a digest of the Provincial Press from the appearance of "The Present State of the New England Affairs," 1689, "Publick Occurrences," 1692, and the first issue of "The Boston News-Letter," 1704, ending with the Close of the Revolution, 1783. It will be illustrated with Reproductions of many of the Newspapers of the period.

The Manuscript is now in the hands of the printer, and will be published in 1895.

The work is being prepared by Historians, Librarians and Scholars as one of the most important historical contributions ever undertaken in the United States.

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

LYMAN HORACE WEEKS, Editor

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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NO. 1

RISE OF THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS

BY THE VISCOUNT DE FRONSAC

[Revised—with additions—from the original edition, especially for the American Historical Magazine.]

I

THE United Empire loyalists of the British Colonies in North America of all branches of the Aryan race:—French, English, Dutch, German,—whose posterity had settled in America are those who decided that as much of the empire in America as they were able to preserve in 1783 should be saved from republican revolution and democratic destruction. In the cases of many it was not affection for the British name and connection, since many were of different nationalities, but it was attachment to a constitutional and monarchial empireship of affairs. In fact, many others, of the foremost royalists, were opposed in the principle to the House of Hanover on the British throne, considering its right as resting on parliamentary usurpation rather than on the constitution. But they advanced nevertheless to sustain the principle of monarchy which it represented in opposition to the leveling, unpatriotic and unconstitutional democracy to which it was opposed.

The United Empire Loyalist position then is a dual one; first as a maintenance of the royalty and the classes represented in the ancient charters of the Anglo-American colonies, secondly as a defiance of parliamentary interference from Britain in the functions of the crown in the colonies—a recognized protest that no ministers, committee or parliament in England shall stand between the king and royal and constitutional government in the colonies.

But to understand this doctrine which is so vital to the history of Canada—on the defence of which rests the integrity of its institutions and the treaties guaranteeing them, it is necessary to go to the very beginning, to the causes of the foundation of the Anglo-American colonies and to the elements which enter therein, on which these institutions in Canada are based and defended, against the doctrine which has overthrown them in what are now the United States of North America.

COLONISTS UNDER THE STUARTS

It was in the very beginning of these troublous times of the Stuart reigns that kingdoms were founded beyond the sea. In 1606 King James I. granted a charter to two companies to extend his empire in America, the Company of London, whose territory extended from Old Point Comfort 200 miles northward and 200 miles southward, and the Company of Plymouth whose grant commenced 100 miles further north than the former company's.

The *motive* which prompted the first settler to go from England to Virginia, as the southern division was called, was for commercial self-interest; the finding of gold and the acquiring of estates. But the *motive* of the king in extending his empire beyond seas was to create regal states,—states whose autonomies might resemble in every feature the autonomy of the parent state as a mirror reflects an image.

This idea of the Stuarts was not original. Had it been original it would have been unnatural, on a false, unconstitutional basis. The Bourbons had practised it before in Canada. This idea of the Stuarts and Bourbons was borrowed from the feudal system and the feudal system had been derived from the Frankish allotment of responsibility to semi-independent princes over tracks of conquered domain, wherein each prince was sovereign within his allotment, being responsible only to the supreme majesty, the king or emperor at the head of all the states, which these allotments of domain were forming. In a government of this sort, if the king or emperor might be coerced by the democracy of his own particular state—as that

which had murdered King Charles I.—the king or emperor could summon the princes of these inferior states, who, true to their responsibility, holding fealty to the king, and not to the parliament, or democracy, were bound to rally their own proper warriors and crush the enemies of the empire, at the mandate of their suzerain. This faith, this fealty, this knightly obligation, could be expected only of a knightly race—it would fail in the hands of such a civilization as that which commercialism causes to flourish—a civilization without a class of honor. It was this class of honor, therefore; derived in inspiration from that Frankish chivalry—"formed by the hand of God"—that each sub-chieftain, or prince, or council of feudatories who held a charter from the Stuart king to found colonies beyond seas, hastened to develop and put in command in each their colonies—to the end that their autonomies might be as royal and sovereign as that of the parent state and subservient only to the sovereign thereof.

Beginning with this method all the charters granted by the Stuarts for the establishment of colonies in America were in the sense of feudal holdings and of a royal character. This made them so different from the modifications which they received under the succeeding House of Hanover, when these charters became subservient to parliamentary jurisdiction and were modelled after the commissions of joint-stock companies for colonial management and exploitation. Under the Stuarts the system employed rendered it impossible for parliament to intermeddle in colonial affairs. The right of domain in the colony was vested by the crown in a person, or a company to rule according to the terms of the grant from the crown which gave him or them the control of that domain, with power to choose not only the officers and to make subinfeudations, but to name their successors, unless the grant was declared hereditary—like the principality of Maryland in the family of Lord Baltimore.

Holding from the king, as an ancient fendal vassal of the age of chivalry, the colonies as fiefs were made to respond, not to parliament which could not enter a fief, but to the king's great vassals, the colonial proprietors, or council of proprietors. In

their own name, with sovereign power absolute over their colonial fiefs, they granted lands and dignities to be held solely of themselves. Those receiving grants and dignities in the colonies were responsible to their feudal superior, the proprietor, or council of proprietors, and he or they to the king. In this manner the colonies were made royal even when England itself was becoming parliamentary and republican. In this manner, from the subinfeudations granted by the proprietor, prince, or council of proprietors in the colonies to antrustians—to officers, gentlemen and others on whose honor the proprietor might rely for support, military and administrative, a class of honor was being built up, a colonial aristocracy having many of the features of the ancient chivalry after whose feudal pattern and nature of fealty it was modeled.

That this was the best system may be understood by reason and history proves it by facts. It built up faith and honesty in the entire population wherever it was introduced; it developed a local centre of administration, free from parliamentary interference and in harmony with the condition requisite for local prosperity. During that period, after the first hardships of colonization had been conquered, the greatest happiness and contentment prevailed in the colonies, and the best of those ancient colonial residences, preserved to modern times, show in their design the aspiration and character of the leading families, whose colonial importance under the Stuarts is the proudest boast of their descendants of the present day.

In adopting this system the Stuarts were acting along constitutional lines. In regard to the nature of the population, the full meaning of the common law of England was put in active force. This common law recognizes the three classes into which every people is divided: I, the nobility; II, the professional class, and III, the burgesses. The charter of every Stuart colony made a provision for the just representation of each. In some colonies this representation was made more definite than in others, but in all there was a provision for it.

The charter granted to Virginia in 1606 introduced the land tenure system of England into the country. Now in that early settlement period, on account of the lack of an exalted motive

on the part of the first adventurers going into the country, the only idea in their minds was, as heretofore stated, the acquisition of wealth, and finally, estate. The English law was established. According to English law, not only a city but a division of the country must be erected into a "borough" before it might be represented in the legislature. But no baronial or manorial grant was made in Virginia from the earliest date down to the extinction of crown authority beneath the democratic American revolution. A great many "broken" gentlemen had come over even with the first colonists, and they were not of a good quality of their own class. There were a few who thought of restoring their family station "in the pomp of heraldry" and the pride of statecraft, and of erecting manours and baronies in the new world in the romantic spirit of old Europe. But the records show that these "decayed gentlemen" were in general the least valuable of all the colonists to Virginia. In fact, had it not been for the indomitable courage and genius of a soldier among them, Captain John Smith, the early colonists would have perished from their own dissipation and ignorance and lack of cohesive energy. Smith organized the necessary labors to be performed and compelled their performance by his authority as chief of the colony, he having been appointed to that position by the London Council in control of the colony. This council consisting of thirteen of the British nobility held the colony as a direct feudatory of the crown, who were to administer the colony according to the provisions of the charter. This charter was the constitution of Virginia and as such was an abstract of the common law of England. In addition this abstract provided that:

I. The christian religion, Church of England, shall be maintained and the clergy paid from certain revenues of the colony.

II. Lands are to descend as in England. The entailment of estates among the aristocracy was encouraged as a measure necessary for local prosperity and for the independence and well-being of that aristocracy.

The officers of a colony were to consist of a governor appointed by the great feudatories—the London Council,—assisted by councillors chosen in the colony from among the great

land owners. Later there was added a house of burgesses elected by the remaining inhabitants, whose office, as every representative office is, was to present their grievances to be remedied to the governor and council, and to vote the money necessary to carry on the government of the colony. Apart from the taxation and assessment subject to the house of burgesses, the governor and council—in the name of the great feudatories of the colony (London Council)—administered the feudal lands, known as “crown lands.”

The early gentlemen colonists of Virginia, who settled Jamestown on the James River in 1607, had their connection broken with their families in Britain, several leaving England to escape the consequences of their debts. On this account they were unable to obtain wives of their own class, even after they had gained appropriate estates in the colony. They knew no other class than their own in Britain. It became necessary for their domestic happiness to have wives of some kind, however, and they employed an agent in London, who for the sake of 40 pounds of tobacco for each respectable female whom he could induce to go to Virginia and marry one of the planters, agreed to send over the article required for their domesticity. History does not state whether this article was a little dear, but it was certainly respectable, or the bargain would have been declared “off.”

From the time of the settlement of Jamestown in 1607 to 1649 affairs in Britain were running more and more in a democratic channel. The people described in Cromwell's address to parliament, the leaders of this democracy, who had raised the indignation of Cromwell himself, had murdered the king, Charles I., and had usurped the royal power. All the counselors and feudatories of the king had been killed in battle, or had fled the kingdom and some of those grand old cavaliers came to Virginia at this time, as fugitives, burning with indignation against the unprincipled and presumptuous democracy, whom they had left behind in Britain in the house of empire.

“For there was dust of vulgar feet
On that polluted floor;
And perjured traitors filled the seat
Where good men sat before.”

It was at this time that the old feudal fealty showed itself in Virginia, being given an opportunity of expression in favor of the crown of which Virginia was a fief. It was at this time that Sir William Berkeley was governor of Virginia, one of those few knightly souls of old Europe who came to America and whose renown is worthy to live forever in the pages of chivalry. "He belonged to an ancient English family; believed in monarchy as a devotee believes in his saint, and brought to the little capital at Jamestown all the graces, amenities and well-bred ways which at that time were articles of faith with the cavaliers. He was certainly a cavalier of cavaliers, taking that word to signify an adherent of monarchy and the established church. For these, this smiling gentleman was going to fight like a tiger or a ruffian. The glove was of velvet but under it was the iron hand which would fall inexorably alike on the New England Puritans and the followers of Bacon."

And he was right in his severity, for force only can keep fraud at bay!

To write the life of Berkeley could be done better in verse than in prose. He was a hero—a "Rokeby"—the only hero in all the history of the thirteen English colonies of North America whose personality is surrounded by the halo of romance. His mind was exalted, keen and active. He wrote a "Discourse and View of Virginia" and his drama "The Lost Lady" was acted in London and made an impression for its merit and character on Pepys. He was an able administrator and looked after the prosperity of the colony in material things. He set an example to planters in the manner in which he cultivated his estate of Greenspring, ten miles from Jamestown, where he raised 1,500 apple trees, besides apricots, peaches, pears, quinces and "mellcotttons." The colony under his administration advanced to a population of 40,000. In his hospitality he was unbounded. The noble generosity of his soul caused him to stand with knightly valor by those who had pledged themselves in the same cause, through the calamities of misfortune and the dangers of civil strife. "When afterwards, in the stormy times, the poor cavaliers flocked to Virginia to find a

1. Cook's "History of Virginia," p. 182.

place of refuge, he entertained them in a regal fashion at Greenspring."

It was at this time in 1649 that they brought the news with them—the cavalier exiles—that the monarchy was wrecked, democracy triumphant and the king murdered. It was at this time that Sir William Berkeley felt the occasion strong within him and did that act which made the memory of the whole colony of Virginia great, which gave it a reputation from his heroism and fealty that no other colony has ever achieved and which she would never had achieved without that gallant and immortal cavalier. He determined in the line of his duty, his fealty of knight to king, to rally his little power to the cause of the fallen monarchy and to cast the armed gauntlet of defiance at the mighty commonwealth of England and all her dependencies. It was his duty; and not to reason for the expediency of it, or to neglect it for the number and strength of the enemy.

According to a manuscript by a Puritan regicide³ it is related that he

"laid about him very busily and very loudly all last summer both in actions and in speeches. * * * * He got the militia of the country to be of his party and nothing talked on but burning, hanging, plundering, etc., or anything rather than yield to such bloody tyrants," (as the parliament of England). What by threatening some and flattering others, the assistance of 500 Indians promised him * * * * he had so far prevailed and was of late so far seconded by those unhappy gentlemen that help to ruin themselves and their king * * * * that there was indeed little else spoken of, or resolved on but ruin for this poor wicked country."

These "unhappy gentlemen" spoken of, who were brought to aid Sir William, were no doubt the few cavaliers who did come to Virginia. These he invited to be members of his military council, and their names are more worthy of preservation than any in the ancient history of colonial Virginia. Then the old hero, Sir William Berkeley, thought it time to break away from all connection with such a gang of cut-throats as parlia-

2. Cook's "History of Virginia," p. 183.

3. In the British Museum Library, E. 665-3, pages 1604-7, on the "Surrender of the Colony of Virginia."

ment and proclaim an independent monarchy in the American colonies. On Oct. 10, 1649, he forced the house of burgesses to sign his proclamation.⁴

The following is the celebrated proclamation of an independent kingdom in the colonies under Charles II., against the unconstitutional parliamentary government ruling in England:

"Act I. Whereas divers out of ignorance, others out of malice, schism and faction, in pursuance of some design of innovation, may be presumed to prepare men's minds and inclinations to entertain a good liking of their contrivement, by casting blemishment of dishonor on the late most excellent and now undoubtedly sainted king, and to those close ends vindicating and attesting the late proceedings against the late blessed king (though by so much they may seem to have color of law and form of justice, they may be truly said to have the more and greater height of impudence); and on this foundation of asserting the clearness and legality of the said unparalleled treasons, perpetuated on the said king, do build hopes and inferences to the high dishonor of the regal state and in truth to the utter disinheritation of His Most Sacred Majesty that now is, and the divesting of him of these rights which the law of Nature and Nations and the known laws of the Kingdom of England have adjudged inherent to his royal line and the law of God, himself (if sacred writ may be so styled of which this age doth loudly call in question) hath consecrated unto him. And, as arguments easily and naturally deduced from the aforesaid cursed and destructive principles, with endeavor they press and persuade the powers of the commission to be void and null, and all magistracy and offices thereon depending to have lost their vigor and efficacy, by such means assuredly expecting advantages for the accomplishment of their lawless and tyrannous intentions. Be it therefore declared and enacted by the governor, council and burgesses of this Grand Assembly and the authority of the same, that what person soever, whether stranger or inhabitant of this colony, after the date of this act, by reasoning, discourse, or argument, shall go about to defend and maintain the late traitorous proceedings against the aforesaid King of most happy memory, under any notion of law or justice, such person, using reasoning, discourse or argument, or uttering any words or speeches to such purpose, and being proven by competent witnesses, shall be adjudged an access-

4. This is given in full in that very rare book "Henning's Statutes at Large of the Colony of Virginia." Vol. I, pp. 358-61.

ory, post mortem to the death of the aforesaid King and shall be proceeded against for the same according to the known laws of England; or, whoever shall go about by irreverent and scandalous language to blast the memory and honor of the late most pious King, shall on conviction suffer such censure and punishment as shall be thought fit by the governor and council. And be it further enacted, that what person soever shall by words or speeches endeavor to insinuate any doubt, scruple or question of or concerning the undoubted and inherent right of His Majesty that now is, to the *colony of Virginia and these other, His Majesty's dominions and countries*, as King and supreme Governor, such words and speeches shall be adjudged high treason.

"And it is also enacted, that what person soever, by false reports and malicious rumors shall spread abroad among the people anything to *change of government*, or to the lessening of the power and authority of the governor, or government, either in civil or ecclesiastical causes (which this Assembly hath and doth declare to be full and plenary to all intents and purposes), such persons, not only the authors of such reports and rumors but the reporters and divulgers thereof (unless it be done by way of legal information before a magistrate) shall be adjudged equally guilty, and shall suffer such punishment even to severity, as shall be thought fit, according to the nature and quality of the offence."

The names of the grand assembly that proclaimed King Charles II. in Virginia were:—Sir William Berkeley, Governor. For James County, Walter Chiles, Thomas Swann, William Barrett, George Reade, William Whittacker, George Dunston. For Henrico County, William Hatcher. For Charles City, Colonel Edward Hill and Charles Sparrow. For Warwick County, Colonel Thomas Harwood and John Walker. For Isle of White County, George Handy and Robert Pitt. For Nansmond County, Colonel George Carter and Toby Smith. For Elizabeth City, Captain William Worlick and Joseph Robbins. For Lower Norfolk, Barth Hoskins and Thomas Lambert. For York County, Colonel Ralph Wormley and Ralph Burnham. For Northumberland County, Colonel Francis Poythers and Joseph Trussell.

"No person elsewhere on the North American Continent," says Cook's "History of Virginia," "moved to support the

King." And Berkeley was alone, for he had to give energy to the smaller souls in Virginia and to guard against the treachery and conspiracy of a body of "Puritan fanatics" who had settled in the colony.

The Puritan democracy in England began to act. In 1650 a law of parliament prohibited trade with Virginia and the West Indies and a fleet of ships were sent to suppress Sir William Berkeley and his King's adherents. Two war-ships reached Virginia in March, 1652, and one of them ascended the James River and the commander, in the name of the commonwealth of England, demanded surrender of the colony. But Berkeley never thought of surrender. He summoned his friends, had cannon placed on the high places and distributed muskets to the inhabitants. But the ship's Puritan captain recognizing those of the same sort as himself among some of the house of burgesses, had a private interview with them, in which bribes were distributed, and the house of burgesses voted to surrender the colony over the head of Berkeley. The parliamentary commissioners were Bennett, Clayborne and Curtis. The only requirements made was an oath of allegiance to the commonwealth of England, and those who refused to take it and abandon "kingcraft" were to be allowed a year in which to sell their property and leave the country.

The haughty cavalier Berkeley turned his back on the upstart carls of the Virginia democracy that surged into power in the colony with Puritanism. He went to his private estate, and in company with a few brother cavaliers not only refused to take the oath, but was too strong to be driven out. One of his followers boasted that, though "they had been reduced by the power of the Usurper they had never come under his obedience." One of the first acts of the Virginian democracy under Governor Bennett in 1652 was to curtail representation of the cavaliers and abolish the name of the king as the head of state. But Virginia was too far away for the English democracy itself to meddle with much and the Virginia democrats were too suspicious of each others integrity to accomplish all the leveling they desired. During this time, there was nothing but plundering and persecuting carried on by the triumphant democracy

of the Virginia colony against neighboring Catholic proprietors and lords of the Maryland Manours, who had no protection from any source under the "righteous" government of the Puritan usurpation, whose pretext had been for "freedom of conscience and the rights of men,"—a verbal sheep's garment for a voracious wolf.

But all these troubles ended at once, when in 1660 the news came across the water that the Scottish army of General Monk, tired of Puritan hypocrisy, corruption and persecution, had marched into London, had overthrown the English republic and had proclaimed Charles II. as King.

The great Cromwell, Lord Protector of England, had died in 1658. He had stayed the persecution made by the Puritan democracy in England and muzzled the democracy itself even as Napoleon was to rout the French democracy,—both leaders using the only argument which democracy respects, the sword. Cromwell had protected the cavaliers who were in hiding in different parts of the realm, had stopped the burning of witches, and the persecution of the Jews and had maintained the integrity of the three estates. Referring to the Puritan demagogues whom he despised, he exclaimed "I hate their leveling idea; there is nothing in the minds of these men but overturn, overturn!"

On the death of Cromwell, the friends of Berkeley in Virginia took up again the feudal principle which Berkeley as a cavalier had expressed, that as Virginia was a fief of the crown, now that the crown had been abolished in Britain, the fealty between Virginia and England was abolished also. In March, 1660, the planters assembled at Jamestown and agreed to the following resolve: "Whereas by reason of the late distraction --which God in His mercy put a sudden period to--there *being in England no resident, absolute and generally confessed power*, be it enacted and confirmed that, the supreme power of the government of this country shall be resident in the assembly and that all writs issue of the general assembly of Virginia until such a command or commission come out of England as shall by the assembly be adjudged lawful." The second Act

declared: "That the Hon. Sir William Berkeley shall be governor and captain-general of Virginia."

In May, Charles II. was restored in England and with him the monarchy, and in October, 1660, he sent his own commission to Sir William Berkeley appointing him governor, which, accepted as supreme by all parties, restored the fealty of Virginia to the crown. Thus the value of the Stuart system of erecting fiefs beyond sea into royal governments dependent solely on the command upheld by an independent and localized class of honor was made manifest in the action of Virginia, although the initiative and energy of the action belonged only to one lion-hearted and loyal man. But the restoration was superficial in Virginia, where in truth the vast majority of the inhabitants were indifferent, cavaliers few and the democrats more numerous, with the advantage of not being encumbered by honest considerations. In 1663 a number of indentured servants were induced to break into revolt with the idea of overturning the government and having a republican model. One of them betrayed his comrades, and this revolt was extinguished. Four of the leaders were hung. The burgesses ordered that henceforward "20 guardsmen and one officer shall attend the governor," as a protection against conspirators.

Tranquility was threatened on another side by the Baptist preachers, who, inspired with fanaticism, preached a doctrine of religious compulsion, which, if practised, would have imposed a tyranny compared to which the rule of the Spanish inquisition would have been that of enlightened liberty. The invasion of the body politic by their "new fangled conceits and heretical inventions" was not only adverse to individual liberty, to the established estates of the colony, and to the authority of the crown, but to human happiness and prosperity. For these reasons, they were dealt with severely, and in many places forbidden to preach.

But there was another outburst of democracy threatening crown authority, the estates and the governorship of Berkeley more seriously than the "Revolt of the Valets" and the "Preaching of the Baptists."

It seems that when Virginia surrendered to the Puritan Eng-

lish republic in 1651 that a law had been enacted that Virginia should trade only with England by means of English ships manned by English sailors. Besides this, import and export duties were levied on all the commerce of Virginia.

Even this had not aroused the complaints of the Virginians under the commonwealth, possibly because the republicans in the colony had clasped hands with the republicans in the old country in the matter of division of the spoil. Perhaps the Virginians might not have complained of it under the succeeding monarchy had not Charles II. granted, as a fief, the territory of Virginia and Accomac to the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpeper. This grant was to terminate in thirty-one years unless renewed. It was no more than the original grant to the Council of London had been—it disturbed no one. If the sovereign proprietors of Virginia overstepped the limits of their holding there was an appeal to the crown unless the three estates of Virginia might consider a malfeasance to be an absolution of allegiance—according to feudal law.

But republican doctrine had begun to work in Virginia and the house of burgesses (1670) sent delegates to the king to protest against the new grant. The protest was carefully attended to. The king promised to “grant them a new charter for the settlement and confirmation of all things according to their wishes.” The new charter was drafted, had received the royal signature, and was about to be dispatched to the colony, when the news of the rebellion of the faithless Virginian republicans stayed the royal concession. It seems that there was one, Nathaniel Bacon, a factious and unprincipled republican, who had worked in secret a long while among the servants and lower classes of the population and the Puritan fanatics. His course of action must be noticed in order to show the characters with whom Sir William Berkeley had to deal and who triumphed finally in the American Revolution. Bacon caused himself to be elected to the burgesses by the unconstitutional voting of servants and non-proprietors. He caused the massacre of six Indian chiefs who had come under safe conduct to a council with the whites. Under spacious pretences of reform he rebelled against the governor and the king’s authority, and with

his malcontents, who seem to have been the major part of the Virginians, considered the advisability of proclaiming independence of England and the setting up of a republic. In his rebellion, while besieging Jamestown, one of his means of protection from the cannon of the enemy was putting the wives and daughters of the planters, who were defending the town, in front of his breastworks. He plundered the private residence of the governor, which was outside the town. He succeeded in stirring up the greater part of the people for universal suffrage, indiscriminate education and the introduction of republicanism.

Berkeley, who had only 30 loyal gentlemen, was driven out of Jamestown. He took shelter in Accomac, where he had the satisfaction of hanging Captain Carver, one of Bacon's followers, who had been sent with a fleet of small vessels to capture and bring back the governor. Berkeley and his men also captured "General" Bland, the chief commander of Bacon, and after many vicissitudes triumphed over the rebellion. Bacon had been succeeded in command by a "rope-dancer" named Ingram but he was reduced very speedily. The manner in which Berkeley dealt with these people was summary but just. It is illustrated by the following story:—One of Bacon's officers, named Drummond, was captured; he was brought before Berkeley, who said, "Mr. Drummond, you are very welcome. I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond, you shall hang in half an hour." The time was extended a little. He was tried and sentenced at noon and hung at four in the afternoon.

Twenty-three of the leaders of this rebellion were hung. Charles II., the king, did not approve of these severities, but had he shown himself severe in proportion in England it is not likely that his brother James II., who succeeded on the throne, would have been driven out, in his turn, by the sons of those traitors and deserters whom Charles allowed to plot in safety during his own reign.

As for Berkeley, the clamor of the Virginians against the punishment he meted out to their political treachery caused him to be recalled by the king, and it is said that he died

"broken-hearted" in England at the ingratitude of his royal master. It is certain that all the Virginia historians, afflicted with the same complaint of which Bacon suffered, condemn Berkeley as a tyrant. Cook, the best of them, says:

"He was devoted to monarchy, and the church * * * * In defence of one he persecuted dissent; in support of the other he waded in blood. * * * For a quarter of a century he ruled the colony to the fullest satisfaction of the people. He was an elegant host and a cordial companion who made everyone welcome. He displayed not the least desire to invade the rights of Virginians; on the contrary he defended them on every occasion. It may be said with truth that, in all these years, he was the sincere friend of Virginia and Virginians. All his interests and affections were centred there—in his wife and his home. It was 'the most flourishing country the sun ever shone over,' he said. But one day rebellion raised its head in this beautiful land. His idol, the Divine Right, was flouted by these old friends * * * * then he was merciful to them when they were at his mercy."⁵

In other words, "he protected their rights" and maintained them, and they—what did they? They invaded the rights of the crown, which they had promised to respect. They, the faithless, the treacherous, the unreliable! How could Berkeley, once they had lost all consideration of honor, feel confidence in them!!

The three great innovations on the ancient, political and social conditions against which Sir William Berkeley had to contend and which are the bane of modern states at the present, were: I, Extreme Public Education; II, Republicanism, and III, Universal Suffrage.

I. Berkeley was opposed to extreme public education, because it tends to declass the members of the population, and in this alone to make them restless, discontented and conceited. Not only that, but to tax the provident and industrious for the benefit of the slothful and careless—who breed like rabbits—is to handicap the better portion of the people. To buy the material of all arts, science and language by enforced taxation

5. Cook's "History of Virginia," p. 296.

and give it to those who do not pay for it, which material reason and fact show that only a few can use, is teaching improvidence to be wasteful of the property of others. It is to furnish to the unprincipled additional means of dishonest livelihood, for the scientific adulteration of food and clothing, for the creation of fraudulent stock companies, and for the skilful dissemination of dishonest principles of government. It is a vain endeavor to produce a republican equality by means of "education" when education itself cannot add one quality to the mind or develop a sentiment where there is not the germ of that sentiment.

All the "education" of America has not been able to produce a musician, an artist and a historian, to rank with those of old Europe, where the class of sentiment has not been destroyed by "republicanism." The Inca Turpac Yupanqui declared that "Learning was intended for those only of generous blood." The clerical classes of ancient Gaul—although possessed of the art of writing, considered the pearls of their tradition too precious to be cast at the feet of swine, and transmitted them to the accepted and approved members of their caste by memory only. It was the same in ancient Egypt. The criminal statistics of the United States show that the worst criminals are the best "educated." The increase of crime has gone the same way, the per cent. rising with the "advantages" offered by the free "higher education" from one in ten thousand in 1850 to one in four hundred in 1890. In the Southern States (1890), where "public education" was not so diffused, the per cent. of criminality was less than one-half that of New England where "free education" is the longest established on a "liberal" basis. In New York and Chicago, where the public school fund embraces appropriation of millions, filched from those who do not patronize the public schools and who do not believe in them, the criminality is much higher than in foreign cities of the same size where "education" is not so extravagant. Education of the most exalted and extravagant sort can not fill a heart with lofty sentiment where no germs of sentiment exist.

In proportion as education is diffused the standard of liter-

any excellence is lowered, and the continuance of writers of classics is diminished. Because in former days when "Learning was for those of generous blood," who are the few, their demand made the standard high; at the present time, the demand of the "educated" multitude is louder and more potent with publishers than that of the ancient few, and the standard and style are lowered to comply with the demand. The race verges then on an intellectual decline, and the age is called "materialistic" but only for this reason—that the instincts of the many are gross and unsentimental and must remain so ever; and an appeal to them as to a standard results in the exclusion of everything higher and better. Besides provision for a public education shows lack of general ethical perception—the very idea of "educating one man's children with another man's money" is proof of it. It destroys the value of inherited qualities that are not perceptible by educational means, such as generosity, magnanimity and honor,—arranged in the present condition of society as handicaps to their possessors in the race of life; the class of their possessors becomes smaller with each generation.

II. In the beginning of the settlement of Virginia, before there was any real property interest in the colony, up to the year 1655 "all settlers had a voice in public affairs, first in the daily matters of the commune, or 'hundreds,' and after 1619 in electing burgesses * * * * But in 1655 it was changed by men of the commonwealth '(to cut off the influence of the retainers of the cavaliers).' In that year the burgesses declared that none but 'housekeepers, whether freeholders, leaseholders, or otherwise tenants,' shall be 'capable of electing burgesses.' One year afterwards (1656) the ancient usage was restored, and all 'freemen' were allowed to vote, since it was 'something hard and unagreeable to reason that any person shall pay equal taxes and yet have no vote in the elections; but the freemen must not vote in a tumultuous manner.' Such was the record of the first commonwealth."⁶

"In 1670, the King's men restored the first act restricting the suffrage again. The reason is stated:—The 'usual way of choosing burgesses by the votes of all persons, who, having

served their time, are freemen in this country,' produced 'tumults at the election.' Therefore, it were better to follow the English fashion and 'grant a voyee in such election only to such as by their estates, real or personal, have interest enough to tye them to the endeavor of the public good.' So, after this, none but 'freeholders and housekeepers' were to vote."

"The persons who had served their time as indentured servants had 'little interest in the country'; they were making disturbances at elections * * * * This was the determinate sentiment and the law remained settled, with the exception of one year (1676) when Bacon's Assembly changed it, declaring that 'freemen should vote.' This was swept away by a general repeal of all 'Bacon's laws' and the freehold restriction remained the law of Virginia nearly to the present time (1870)."

III. Simply because passengers have purchased a railway ticket and have ridden on the cars on their journey is no reason that they ought to vote with the stockholders of the railway for the choice of directors and for the management of the road. There is but one way for them and that is to become an owner in the stock—of something beyond a railway ticket. The same law of right holds good for the state; no matter what the education of the citizen may be, if he does not own stock in the state he has no ethical right to vote for the choice of government, or for the policy of rulership.

The lack of ethical consideration in the suffrage is to be expected from the ingress into public affairs of those who have received the unethically obtained public education—of those who have been instructed, not by the laudable efforts of their own family, but from the results of public robbery—whereby one man's property is assessed for the "benefit" of another man's children. Those who have been "benefited" by this species of robbery are ready to try it over again in the state—in the legislature—in the policy of government. Disloyalty results and the kingdom is overthrown by the traitors it has nourished in its bosom, who proceed at once to form a "republic" in which those who raise the greatest clamor may rule, and in which each opposing minority is subject to turn to proscription and plunder. This is the character of the men who have in-

stituted every republic that has existed in any age or clime, and this is the process which their government has followed out until, dismembered by its own corruption and infamy it has been overthrown by the sword of the dictator.

But affairs did not come to quite such a pass in Virginia, because there was the strong hand of royal power over all. This did not suit the Virginians, who seem to have been a very uneasy, quarrelsome people. James II., last of the Stuarts, wishes to know why they are so "disaffected and unquiet," and they are found to be no better under William of Orange, who succeeded King James as result of the "Revolution of 1688" in England. Having established Virginia and raised it to the dignity of a kingdom and filled it full of prosperous conditions, the ingratitude of the people looked on the "passing" of the Stuarts with indifference. But they were to suffer for it later, for in 1861 their own constitution and the better class were trampled into the dust by the democracy.

(To be Continued).

A HISTORY OF SLAVERY

BY MRS. C. F. MC LEAN

IN the March, 1909, number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE will be the first chapters of one of the most valuable historical publications that has appeared from the American magazine press for many years. This will be a complete history of slavery, as it has existed in the United States. It will be from the pen of Mrs. C. F. McLean, whose contributions to this magazine and to other historical periodicals have given her a recognized position among native historical writers.

In the first installment of this series of papers, Mrs. McLean will have an introduction treating briefly of the subject of slavery from the world point of view. She will review the origin of slavery and present many interesting facts concerning the slavery of white peoples by those of the same and other nationalities, and also the slavery of other races, such as the white slaves of the colored races and the colored slaves of the white races. With this brief expository introduction leading up to the main subject the history of white slavery in the American colonies will be taken up. Then the beginning of African slavery in these colonies will be related, the cause of its installation and the different phases of its development being carefully set forth and explained.

Following will be a consideration of the extent and status of slavery at the time of the declaration of independence, and the attitude of the leaders of the American Revolution in regard to it at that date, and, subsequently, their opinions and conclusions as voiced in the constitutional convention. Connected with this part of the subject will be a careful, soundly studied and exhaustive review of public opinion in the north and in the south regarding slavery at the close of the Revolution, and the causes of the change of views that came about in those two sections will be presented.

Then will come full consideration and explanation of the action of the various states on the slavery question and the introduction of the subject into national legislation. From that point onward, in successive numbers of the magazine, the subject will be treated completely and in a scholarly manner in all its different phases and brought down to the present day.

THE ORIGIN OF THE BOOK OF MORMON

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS

(*A Reply to Mr. Theodore Schroeder*)

III

THE CONNECTION OF SIDNEY RIGDON WITH THE SPAULDING MANUSCRIPT

WHAT is relied upon as evidence that Sidney Rigdon stole the Spaulding manuscript from Patterson-Lambdin's printing office? When Howe appealed for information on this point to Mr. Patterson of Pittsburg, in 1834, Mr. Lambdin had been dead about eight years; and Howe writes—"Mr. Patterson says he has no recollection of any such manuscript being brought there for publication."⁹⁹ This statement of Howe's has proved very troublesome to the later, or Pittsburg group of Mr. Schroeder's witnesses. Mr. Howe was appealed to for his authority for the statement and replied, "I think Hurlburt was the person who talked with Patterson about the manuscript."¹⁰⁰ This is confirmed by the testimony of B. Winchester, author of "The Origin of the Spaulding Story," (1840). As soon as the "Storrs-Davison" statement was published,—asserting that Patterson had borrowed the Spaulding manuscript, was very much pleased with it, advised the writing of a title page, a preface and then publishing it,—a Mr. Green, according to Mr. Winchester, "called upon Mr. Patterson to know if this statement was true. Mr. Patterson replied, that he knew nothing of any such manuscript. I learned this from Mr. Green's own mouth," says Mr.

99. "Mormonism Unveiled," Howe, p. 289.

100. *American Historical Magazine*, November 1906, p. 518. Miller's letter is given in full in Gregg's "Prophet of Palmyra," p. 442; Miller also writes another letter of similar import to the author of "New Light on Mormonism," p. 240. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 7.

Winchester, "who is a man of undoubted veracity. * * * Mr. Hurlburt states, that he called upon Mr. Patterson who affirmed his ignorance of the whole matter."¹⁰¹

In 1842, Mr. Patterson was again appealed to upon the subject of the submission of the Spaulding manuscript to him. The appeal was made by the Reverend Samuel Williams who at the time was preparing for publication a pamphlet entitled "Mormonism Exposed." Whereupon Mr. Patterson wrote and signed a brief statement which was afterwards published by the Reverend Williams as follows:

"R. Patterson had in his employment Silas Engles at the time, a foreman printer, and general superintendent of the printing business. As he (S. E.) was an excellent scholar, as well as a good printer, to him was intrusted the entire concerns of the office. He even decided on the propriety or otherwise of publishing manuscripts when offered,—as to their morality, scholarship, etc. In this character, he informed R. P. that a gentleman, from the East originally, had put into his hands a manuscript of a singular work, chiefly in the style of our English translation of the Bible, and handed the copy to R. P., who read only a few pages and finding nothing apparently exceptionable he (R. P.) said to Engles he might publish it if the author furnished the funds or good security. He (the author) failing to comply with the terms, Mr. Engles returned the manuscript, as I supposed at that time, after it had been some weeks in his possession, with other manuscripts in the office.

"This communication written and signed 2d April, 1842."¹⁰²

Robert Patterson.

"It is matter of sincere regret," says the author of "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" "that so meagre a document is all the written evidence that Mr. Patterson has left." And well he may, as one of the Spaulding origin theorists, have such regret. For there is nothing here of Spaulding and his manuscript, nothing of Patterson's interest in it and advising a title page, preface, and the publication of it; nothing of Rigdon and his connection with the manuscript; nothing of its being missing or stolen or copied. Of course "the gentleman from the

¹⁰¹. "Origin of the Spaulding Story," p. 13.

¹⁰². "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 7.

East originally, [who] had put into his [Patterson's] hands a manuscript of a singular work, chiefly in the style of our English translation of the Bible," in which neither the printing-firm reader, to whom it was referred, nor Mr. Patterson, had more than a languid interest, according to the above, is made by the Spaulding origin theorists to mean the author of the Spaulding manuscript. There is nothing to justify such a conclusion. Had it been Spaulding's manuscript, which "the gentleman from the East presented," would not Mr. Patterson have remembered it? Would he not have named him? Why should he not? There is but one answer—the gentleman was not Spaulding. Oh, at this point, for Mr. Patterson's remembrance of an identity of names with "Book of Mormon" names,—for a "Nephi" now, or "Moroni," or "Zarabemla!" But mark you, what Mr. Patterson refuses to do in the signed statement he prepared especially at his request, Mr. Williams does for him in introducing this signed statement by saying: "Mr. Patterson firmly believes, also, from what he has heard from the Mormon Bible, that it is the same thing he examined at the time."¹⁰³ Then why is that not in the statement Robert Patterson signed? The manifest dishonesty of these preachers grows tedious!

Mr. Schroeder next puts in as "evidence" the testimony of Joseph Miller, (the name "John" in Mr. Schroeder's text is evidently a misprint), "who knew Spaulding at Amity, bailed him out of jail when confined for debt, made his Coffin for him when he died, and helped lay him out in his grave"—quite a formidable list of services; also gruesome. And his testimony? Spaulding told him "there was a man named Sidney Rigdon about the office and they thought he had stolen it"¹⁰⁴ (i. e. the Spaulding manuscript). This man is heralded in the *Cincinnati Gazette* as the "one Man in the United States who can give its (i. e. the Book of Mormon's), origin." Gregg, whom Mr. Schroeder cites as his authority, repeats this announcement, and we marvel that Mr. Schroeder did not include this

103. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 7.

104. *American Historical Magazine*, November, 1906, p. 518.

circumstance in his list of qualities that makes this witness so picturesque.

The Miller document quoted by Mr. Schroeder from Gregg's "Prophet of Palmyra," bears date of January 20, 1882; and as Miller was born in 1791 he was then ninety-one years of age.¹⁰⁵ The very earliest statement of Miller's story is in the *Pittsburg Telegraph*, February 6, 1879, when Miller would be eighty-eight years old. How much reliance is to be placed upon the early recollections of such an aged person after all the talk had, and all the newspaper and magazine articles and discussions that have been published, leading to confusion in the minds of unliterary, uneritical, and often ignorant people, as to dates, the order of events, and mind impressions; and this confusion influenced by their religious zeal, not to say fanaticism; prejudices against supposed heresies; and resentment of religious innovations—what value, I say, is to be given to the recollections of a very aged person under these circumstances, must be finally determined by the reader. I only ask that the circumstances be known; that they be constantly held in mind and given their due weight, and I shall not fear the judgment.

Mr. Schroeder next introduces what he would fondly have us believe is the testimony of the Reverend Cephus Dodd, "a Presbyterian minister of Amity, Pa." (where Spaulding lived 1814-16); Mr. Dodd was also a practicing physician and attended Spaulding in his last illness. "As early as 1832," says Mr. Schroeder, "this Mr. Dodd took Mr. George M. French of Amity to Spaulding's grave, and there expressed a positive belief that Sidney Rigdon was the agent who had transformed Spaulding's manuscript into the Book of Mormon." Mr. French, we are told, fixes the date through its proximity to his removal to Amity. Following is the comment of Mr. Schroeder on the Reverend Mr. Dodd's "testimony:"

"The conclusion thus expressed by Mr. Dodd in advance of all public discussion or evidence is important, because of what is necessarily implied in it? First, it involved a comparison be-

105. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 6.

tween Spaulding's literary production and the 'Book of Mormon,' with a discovered similarity inducing conviction that the latter was a plagiarism from the former. This comparison presupposes a knowledge of the contents of Spaulding's rewritten manuscript. The second and most important deduction is to be made from the assertion that Sidney Rigdon was the connecting link in the plagiarism. Such a conclusion must have had a foundation in Mr. Dodd's mind, and could have arisen only if he was possessed of personal knowledge of what he considered reliable information creating a conviction in his mind of the probability of Sidney Rigdon's connection with the matter.'¹⁰⁶

But not so fast. Let us think of it. Who tells this story? Mr. Dodd in 1832? No. And is it of record that he did all these things that Mr. Schroeder surmises that he did? Again, no. And was Mr. Dodd's "conclusions expressed" in advance of all public discussion or evidence, respecting the Book of Mormon? Not at all. According to the authority Mr. Schroeder himself cites for this Dodd "evidence," and from which he gets the story, the Reverend Mr. Dodd lived until January 16, 1858. But there is no direct statement or evidence from him on the matter here discussed. Nothing was said about it until the publication of "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" in the "History of Washington County, Pa.", 1882, after the discussion of all the evidence, instead of in advance of it. Then Mr. George M. French, according to the author of "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" "in his eighty-third year," "retains a vivid impression" of the foregoing account of a visit to Mr. Spaulding's grave in company with Mr. Dodd; and then the story.¹⁰⁷ And Mr. Schroeder would lead his readers to believe that they have in this jumbled mass of second hand "vivid impressions" fifty years old, detailed by a man in his dotage, over eight-two years old, an expression in "advance of all public discussion or evidence" respecting the Book of Mormon—in 1832, in fact! And Mr. Schroeder is a professional lawyer!

Of like character but weaker are the rest of Mr. Schroeder's witnesses to the "theft" of the Spaulding manuscript and its

106. *American Historical Magazine*, November, 1906, p. 519.

107. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 10.

identity with the Book of Mormon. Such is his "tenth witness," Redick McKee (Joseph Miller, considered above, being his "ninth witness,"); and his "eleventh witness," the Reverend Abner Jackson; and, as Mr. Schroeder himself puts it,— "Last but not least," John C. Bennett, who also indorses the Spaulding theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon; for which I had almost said, "thank God!" for nothing could so completely damn a thing as John C. Bennett's endorsement. Then I restrained the all but expressed exclamation and softened it to the quiet conclusion of—"fitting climax to such a theory!"

Bennett claims to have had it from the "confederation"—that "there never were any plates of the Book of Mormon excepting what were seen by the spiritual and not the natural eyes of the witnesses."¹⁰⁸ All these witnesses are as incompetent and contemptible as those whose testimony we have examined, and with this we leave them. It is not necessary to demonstrate over and over again the same proposition, or refute every specific detail of falsehood when they can be classified and dealt with in mass.

OF RIGDON'S ALLEGED "RELIGIOUS DISHONESTY"

Mr. Schroeder seeks to make much of what he calls "Rigdon's religious dishonesty" previous to his joining the Mormon Church. Of this and the evidence on which it is based, it is only necessary to say: said dishonesty is charged by the Reverend Samuel Williams, author of "Mormonism Exposed"—the Reverend gentleman whom we have seen put into his book a statement as to Mr. Patterson's views about the Spaulding manuscript which Mr. Patterson evidently refused to put into his own signed statement, given to Mr. Williams for his anti-Mormon work. The dishonesty alleged against Rigdon has to do with religious experiences which Rigdon is represented by a rival minister as confessing to have feigned in order to obtain membership in the Baptist Church, at Peters Creek. Its source utterly discredits it; and at best it is only

¹⁰⁸. "Mormonism Exposed," pp. 123-4.

the all-to-usual exhibition of malice expressed in misrepresentation when a person passes from one religious organization to another.

RIGDON'S OPPORTUNITY TO STEAL SPAULDING'S MANUSCRIPT

The next question which Mr. Schroeder considers is Rigdon's opportunity to steal the Spaulding manuscript. This depends upon whether Sidney Rigdon was at Pittsburg when the Spaulding manuscript was there between 1812, the time of Spaulding's advent into Pittsburg with his manuscript, and 1814, the time of his departure. But to humor Mr. Schroeder we will extend the time so as to include his fiction about a "re-written" manuscript and its "second submission" to Patterson for publication. So the question is, was Rigdon in Pittsburg between 1812 and 1816, the time of Spaulding's death? Here I insert a brief biography of Sidney Rigdon, up to the time of his joining the Mormon Church. It is taken from the "Illustrated History of Washington County, Pa.," in which was published the treatise on "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" I select this account of Mr. Rigdon's movements up to 1830, because it is the one regarded by Mr. Schroeder as more accurate than other accounts; and it is only slightly different, but in no respect materially so, from the account of Mr. Rigdon published in the "History of Joseph Smith," in the *Milennial Star*, supplement, volume XIV., and condensed in a foot note in the "History of the Church."¹⁰⁹

"Sidney Rigdon was born near the present village of Liberty, Allegheny Co., Pa., Feb. 19, 1793; attended in boyhood an ordinary country school; joined the Baptist Church near his home May 31, 1817; studied divinity with a Baptist preacher named Clark in Beaver County, Pa., in the winter of 1818-19, and was licensed to preach; went to Warren, Ohio, where he was ordained, and in the winter of 1821-22 returned to Pittsburg; became pastor of the First Baptist Church there Jan. 28, 1822, and for doctrinal errors was excluded from the Baptist denomination Oct. 11, 1823. He continued to Preach in the court-house to his adherents, but in 1824, according to one ac-

109. "History of the Church," vol. I, pp. 120-1, and notes.

count, he removed to the Western Reserve, Ohio; according to another account he engaged in the tanning business in Pittsburg until 1826, and then removed to the Reserve, residing for brief periods at Bainbridge, Mentor, and Kirtland. At this time he was connected with the Campbellite or Disciple's Church, and preached its doctrines, mingled with extravagant conceits of his own, until in 1830 he joined the Mormons."¹¹⁰

It will be observed that this does not bring Sidney Rigdon to Pittsburg until 1821-22, some seven years after the Spauldings had left Pittsburg with their precious manuscript, and five years after they had departed from Pennsylvania with it. Mr. Rigdon's own account of his going to Pittsburg puts it in November, 1821, on his return from Ohio, to visit relatives in Allegheny county, Pa. He preached in Pittsburg a few times, and it was his preaching during this visit that led to his being called to become the permanent pastor of the First Baptist Church of that place, where he took up his residence in 1822.

In a communication addressed to the *Boston Journal*, under date of May 27, 1839, Sidney Rigdon emphatically denies having any connection with Patterson's printing establishment; or with Spaulding and his manuscript.¹¹¹ Concerning the charge frequently made that Rigdon lived in Pittsburg, and was connected with Patterson's printing office during 1815 and 1816, Mr. Schroeder himself remarks.

"The evidence upon which is based the charge of Rigdon having a permanent residence in Pittsburg during the years in question, or his connection with Patterson's printing office, is so unsatisfactory that these issues must be found in favor of Rigdon's denial."¹¹²

Very diligent inquiry was made by the historians of Washington County, to ascertain whether or not Rigdon was in Pittsburg at the time the Spaulding manuscript is alleged to have been there. What makes the matter of inquiry more interesting is the fact that the author of that part of the "History of

110. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 8.

111. The letter of Rigdon will be found complete in Smucker's "History of the Mormons," pp. 45-48.

112. *American Historical Magazine*, November, 1906, p. 524.

Washington County" under the caption "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" is Robert Patterson, son of Robert Patterson, who is said to have been the printer to whom Spaulding's manuscript was taken for publication. Robert Patterson, author of "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" in his capacity of historian, sent out a number of letters soliciting information as to the time of Sidney Rigdon's residence in Pittsburg and his connection with the Patterson-Lambdin printing establishment; and also he made personal inquiry on the same subject. The results of such inquiry follows. The term "the present writer" used in the quotations refer to Mr. Patterson himself. After saying that Carvil Rigdon, Sidney's brother, and Peter Boyer, his brother-in-law, were the source of information for Rigdon's biography, Mr. Patterson says:

"Mr. Boyer also in a personal interview with the present writer in 1879, positively affirmed that Rigdon had never lived in Pittsburg previous to 1822, adding that 'they were boys together, and he ought to know.' Mr. Boyer had for a short time embraced Mormonism, but became convinced that it was a delusion, and returned to his membership in the Baptist Church."

It could not then have been through religious sympathy with Mr. Rigdon that Mr. Boyer made this statement.

"Isaac King, a highly-respected citizen of Library, Pa., and an old neighbor of Rigdon, states in a letter to the present writer, dated June 14, 1879, that Sidney lived on the farm of his father until the death of the latter in May, 1810, and for a number of years afterwards; * * * received his education in a log school-house in the vicinity; he began to talk in public on religion soon after his admission to the church, (1817) probably at his own instance, as there is no record of his licensure; went to Sharon, Pa., for a time, and was there ordained as a preacher, but soon returned to his farm, which he sold (June 28, 1823), to James Means, and about the time of the sale removed to Pittsburg."

"Samuel Cooper, of Saltsburg, Pa., a veteran of three wars, in a letter to the present writer, dated June 14, 1879, stated as follows: 'I was acquainted with Mr. Lambdin. was often in the printing-office; was acquainted with Silas Engles, the foreman of the printing-office; he never mentioned Sidney Rigdon's name

to me, so I am satisfied he was never engaged there as a printer.
 * * * Never saw him in the book-store or printing-office; your father's office was in the celebrated Molly Murphy's Row.'

"Rev. Robert P. DuBois, of New London, Pa., under date of Jan. 9, 1879, writes: 'I entered the book-store of R. Patterson & Lambdin in March, 1818, when about twelve years old, and remained there until the summer of 1820. The firm had under its control the book-store on Fourth Street, a book-bindery, a printing-office, (not newspaper, but job-office, under the name of Butler & Lambdin) entrance on Diamond Alley, and a steam paper-mill on the Allegheny (under the name of R. & J. Patterson). I knew nothing of Spaulding (then dead) or of his book, or of Sidney Rigdon.'

Mrs. R. W. Lambdin, of Irvington, N. Y., widow of the late J. Harrison Lambdin, in response to some inquiries as to her recollections of Rigdon and others, writes under date of Jan. 15, 1882: 'I am sorry to say I shall not be able to give you any information relative to the persons you name. They certainly could not have been friends of Mr. Lambdin.' Mrs. Lambdin resided in Pittsburg from her marriage in 1819 to the death of her husband, Aug. 1, 1825. Mr. Lambdin was born Sept. 1, 1798."

It is to the credit of Mr. Patterson that he recorded these testimonies that must be so unsatisfactory to the Spaulding theory advocates, among whom must be numbered Mr. Patterson himself. He also says that "impartial justice, requires the addition to the above testimony of the very explicit denial of Rigdon himself;" and then quotes the essential part of Mr. Rigdon's denial sent to the *Boston Journal* in 1839. He criticises the grammar of the passage, and points out that Mr. Rigdon was mistaken in saying that there was no "Patterson printing-office" in Pittsburg during his residence there; "as his [Rigdon's] pastorate there began in January, 1822, and the firm of 'R. Patterson and Lambdin' was in business until January 1, 1823." But, as related in the statement of the Reverend Robert P. DuBois, given above, since the job printing-office said to be under the "control" of the firm of "R. Patterson and Lambdin," was conducted under the name of "Buttler and Lambdin,"¹¹³ Mr. Schroeder admits that Mr. Rigdon's slight

113. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 9. The testimony of the five witnesses alluded to will be found in the same work and page.

mistake was very natural, and does not impair in the least the truth of his denial. Having introduced Mr. Rigdon's denial Mr. Patterson remarks upon it and upon the witnesses whose testimony is given above:

"But whatever may be thought of his testimony, as that of an interested party, there can be no doubt that the five preceding witnesses on this point have conscientiously stated what they firmly believed to be the facts. No one who knew them would for a moment doubt their veracity."¹¹⁴

Here let us notice a statement by Mr. Schroeder, that seems to have some weight on this point. He claims Sidney Rigdon's son, John W. Rigdon, says that his father lived in Pittsburg in 1818; and in the biographical note of Sidney Rigdon published in the "History of the Church," following John W. Rigdon's "History of Sidney Rigdon," the manuscript of which he has deposited with the church historians, it is there stated:

"In March, 1819, Mr. Rigdon left the farm and made his home with the Reverend Andrew Clark of Pittsburg, also a Baptist minister. While residing with Mr. Clark he took out a license and began from that time his career as a minister. In May, 1819, he removed from Pennsylvania to Trumbull county, Ohio."¹¹⁵

This would give Sidney Rigdon a residence in Pittsburg from some time in March (1819) until some time in May of the same year—something like two months. This would give some support to Mr. Schroeder's statement. But in the biographical sketch of Mr. Rigdon in the "History of Washington County," the data of which was supplied to the writer of it by Carvil Rigdon, Sidney's brother, and his brother-in-law, Peter Boyer, it is said that Sidney Rigdon "studied divinity with a Baptist preacher named Clark in Beaver County, Pa., in the winter of 1818-19 and was licensed to preach." Beaver County is immediately north of Allegheny County, in which Pittsburg is located. Notwithstanding the statement of John W. Rigdon has found its way into the "History of the Church," as above ex-

¹¹⁴. Ibid.

¹¹⁵. "History of the Church," (1906), vol. I, p. 121, foot note.

plained, yet Carvil Rigdon and Peter Boyer must be held to be more competent witnesses on this point than John W. Rigdon; and more especially since the inquiry made by Mr. Patterson in his capacity of contributor to the "History of Washington County, Pa.," was made in the interest of the Spaulding theory that requires the location of Rigdon in Pittsburg earlier than 1822, when, it is conceded, he took up his residence there. Had the Reverend Mr. Clark with whom Rigdon studied divinity in the spring of 1819 lived in Pittsburg instead of Beaver County, that fact would scarcely have escaped the searching inquiry made upon the subject. But even if the residence of Rigdon for two months in the year named could be fixed in Pittsburg beyond reasonable doubt, the conclusion of Mr. Schroeder as to its effect upon Rigdon's denial of knowledge of the existence of the printing-office of Patterson and Lambdin, would not stand. He puts his argument in syllogistic form, thus:

"Rigdon's son says Rigdon lived in Pittsburg in 1818. Church biographers allege that he preached there regularly after January 28, 1822. During 1818 and 1822 Patterson was in the printing business, and Rigdon's statement must be deemed untrue."¹¹⁶

To which the answer is: By no means; since if it be allowed that Rigdon was in Pittsburg at all, he was there but some two months—and the existence of a certain printing establishment might easily escape his knowledge,—and more especially so since the printing office was run under another firm name, that of "Butler and Lambdin."¹¹⁷

Let us now return to Mr. Patterson and his "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" We have seen how fairly he recorded the testimony of witnesses that told against his own side of the case, and the certificate of good character he gave those witnesses. It is but fair to him to say that on the opposite side of the question he gives the "Davison" statement credence, apparently not knowing the "shady" character of that document; and that if it was "in the main true," then it carried off the Spauld-

¹¹⁶. *American Historical Magazine*, November, 1906, p. 526.

¹¹⁷. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 9.

ing manuscript beyond the reach of Sidney Rigdon as early as 1814, when the Spauldings left Pittsburg for Amity. Mr. Patterson also records the statement of Joseph Miller, Redick McKee and Mr. French's story of the Reverend Cephus Dodd, whose statements have already been considered, and shown to be incompetent as evidence.

And then he comes to another witness in whom both he and Mr. Schroeder delight as establishing a connection if not between Rigdon and Patterson's printing establishment, then at least between Rigdon and Lambdin. This is Mrs. R. J. Eichbaum of Pittsburg. The facts relating to her are that she was the daughter of John Johnston, and was born August 25, 1792. Her father was post-master of Pittsburg from 1804 to 1822; and was succeeded by William Eichbaum, who held the office until 1833. In 1815 Miss Johnston married William Eichbaum. As soon as she became old enough she assisted her father in attending the post-office. From 1811 to 1816 she became the regular clerk in the office assorting, opening and distributing the mail. And even after her marriage in the absence of her husband, she sometimes attended to these duties. Pittsburg was then a small town, the mail was meagre, and Mrs. Eichbaum remembered those who called regularly for their mail; and now her own words:

"I knew and distinctly remember Robert and Joseph Patterson, J. Harrison Lambdin, Silas Engles, and Sidney Rigdon. I remember Rev. Mr. Spaulding, but simply as one who occasionally called to inquire for letters. I remember that there was an evident intimacy between Lambdin and Rigdon. They very often came to the office together. I particularly remember that they would thus come during the hour on Sabbath afternoon when the office was required to be open, and I remember feeling sure that Rev. Mr. Patterson knew nothing of this, or he would have put a stop to it. I do not know what position, if any, Rigdon filled in Patterson's store or printing-office, but am well assured he was frequently, if not constantly there for a large part of the time when I was clerk in the post-office. I recall Mr. Engles saying that 'Rigdon was always hanging around the printing-office.' He was connected with the tannery before he became a preacher, though he may have continued the business whilst preaching."¹¹⁸

118. Ibid, p. 10.

This is the strongest and I may say the only testimony existing concerning any connection between Sidney Rigdon and Lambdin. But if this testimony was left to stand with all its strength unimpaired, it is a "far way" between this and the establishment of a connection between Rigdon and the Spaulding manuscript. Even Mr. Schroder concedes that. In commenting on the above testimony, he says:

"While this does not establish that Sidney Rigdon had a permanent abode in Pittsburg, nor that he was connected with Patterson's printing establishment, it yet explains why seemingly everybody who knew him reached that conclusion."¹¹⁹

One marvels at the concluding remark in the above passage, in the face of the testimony of the five witnesses quoted by the author of "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" These five witnesses had the best opportunity of knowing of such connection if it existed. They were Rigdon's own boyhood and young manhood companions, employees of the firm of Patterson and Lambdin, including Lambdin's wife, and they all declare there was no such connection, or that they knew of none. And then there is the silence of Robert Patterson, of the firm of Patterson and Lambdin to account for. Patterson, who was solicited for information on the subject but who evidently could give none; and whose disclosure if he had any to make, Rigdon boldly challenged in his *Boston Journal* article of 1839. Mr. Patterson did not die until September 5th, 1854;¹²⁰ and in 1839 Rigdon in the article referred to said:

"If I were to say that I ever heard of the Rev. Solomon Spaulding and his hopeful wife, until Dr. P. Hurlburt wrote his lie about me, I should be a liar like unto themselves. Why was not the testimony of Mr. Patterson obtained to give force to this shameful tale of lies? The only reason is, that he was not a fit tool for them to work with; he would not lie for them, for if he were called on he would testify to what I have here said."¹²¹

119. *American Historical Magazine*, September, 1906, p. 528.

120. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 7.

121. "History of the Mormons," Smucker, p. 96.

This is Rigdon's challenge, (Mr. Schroeder nowhere deals with it) and while we regret its form we rejoice in its boldness and emphasis. Mr. Patterson was solicited by the Reverend Samuel Williams, when preparing his "Mormonism Exposed," for a statement, and Mr. Patterson gave one and signed it under date of 2nd of April, 1842, but not a word in it of Rigdon or of his connection with the printing establishment, or his association with Lambdin, or of the complaints of Engles about Rigdon "always hanging around the printing office;" not a word about Spaulding and his manuscript. There is but one conclusion to be reached from this silence, viz., there were no such relations to disclose as are contended for by Mr. Schroeder.

The statement of Mrs. Eichbaum is somewhat weakened by the fact that when she gave her statement she was eighty-seven years old and what Mr. Schroeder has implied of memories impaired by age in the case of Mrs. McKinstry, ought to have some application to the testimony of Mrs. Eichbaum. Another consideration weakens it. Taking into account Rigdon's prominence in the public life of Pittsburg from the time of being settled there as the regular pastor of the First Baptist Church, in 1822, up to 1825, the year of Lambdin's death, if any such intimacy had existed between Rigdon and Lambdin as described by Mrs. Eichbaum and contended for by Mr. Schroeder, would not Mrs. Lambdin have had some knowledge of it? "Mrs. Lambdin resided in Pittsburg from her marriage in 1819 to the death of her husband, August 1st, 1825." Yet writing to Mr. Patterson, author of "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon," under date of Jan. 15th, 1882, in response to inquiries as to her recollections of Sidney Rigdon and others she says:

"I am sorry to say I shall not be able to give you any information relative to the persons you name. They certainly could not have been friends of Mr. Lambdin."¹²²

If due weight be given to these considerations, I do not think much importance can attach to the testimony of Mrs. Eichbaum. It simply represents the confused impressions arising

122. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 9.

from the neighborhood gossip and public discussion of the subject, in a mind grown old.

What Mr. Patterson has said at the close of the testimony pro and con, which he presents in his article in the History of Washington County, is worth repeating:

"These witnesses are all whom we can find after inquiries extending through some three years who can testify at all to Rigdon's residence in Pittsburg before 1816, and to his possible employment in Patterson's printing-office or bindery. Of this employment none of them speak from personal knowledge. In making inquiries among two or three score of the oldest residents of Pittsburg and vicinity, those who had any opinion on the subject invariably, so far as now remembered, repeated the story of Rigdon's employment in Patterson's office, as if it were a well-known and admitted fact; they 'could tell all about it,' but when pressed as to their personal knowledge of it or their authority for the conviction they had none."¹²³

The search for evidence was prolonged and thorough; evidently, at the outset, the confidence was great; and the results evidently a disappointment. That becomes more apparent when one reads the foot note of the publishers on Mr. Patterson's passage above.

"If any one would learn an impressive lesson upon the transitory nature of man's hold upon the remembrance of his fellow-men, let him engage in an investigation into some matter of local or personal history dating back a half century ago. So rapidly, in the very places where a man has lived and labored, does the recollection of him fade into rumor, or myth, or oblivion. The candid reader will doubtless suspend his judgment on this hitherto accepted theory of Rigdon's printership, or set it down as, at the most, only probable, but certainly not yet proved."¹²⁴

To these reflections on how quickly recollections of a man in the place where he wrought some portion of his life's work fade into myth or rumor, or oblivion, there may be added the other side of the case; let ever so little a circumstance happen to a

¹²³. "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon?" p. 11.

¹²⁴. Ibid, p. 9 foot note.

man in some place where part of his life was passed, and if that man becomes famous, or through any cause becomes notorious, then mark how local gossips and myth-makers spring up on every hand, magnifying the most trivial incidents into events of importance; how new incidents are often invented, which with those that have some foundation in fact are constantly undergoing variations by additions or subtractions or a change in application, until all is distorted, confused and confounded. And many "can tell all about it, until," as Mr. Patterson remarks, "pressed as to their personal knowledge, or their authority for their conviction, then it is discovered they have none." And then one stands face to face with the utter worthlessness of that kind of "evidence" to establish anything good or ill concerning a man, or an event, or a cause. It is out of just such "evidence" as this that Mr. Schroeder and his fellow "Spauldingites," seek to construct for the Book of Mormon an origin other than that vouched for by Joseph Smith and his associates.

DID RIGDON EXHIBIT THE SPAULDING MANUSCRIPT?

Especially out of just such evidence as this grows Mr. Schroeder's next subject—"Sidney Rigdon exhibits Spaulding's manuscript." While Rigdon was at Pittsburg, 1822-3, a Dr. Winters, then teaching school in the town, was in Rigdon's study when the latter took from his desk a large manuscript and said that a Presbyterian minister named Spaulding whose health had failed brought it to a printer to see if it would not pay to publish it—"it is a romance of the Bible," Rigdon is reported to have said. Doctor Winter thought no more about it until the Book of Mormon appeared. Then, of course, "he remembered all about it." Dr. Winter, did not commit his recollections of this interview to writing, though he lived until 1878. But Mr. Schroeder finds "something just as good," a daughter writes out what she had heard her father, Dr. Winters, say about it. This was in 1881, about the time interest was renewed in the subject through the publication of Mrs. Ellen E. Dickinson's article in *Scribner's Magazine* for August, 1880.

Of like import is the story of Mrs. Amos Dunlap, of Warren, Ohio. She wrote in answer to inquiries in December, 1879, to the effect that she visited the Rigdon family at Bainbridge, Ohio, when quite a child, (Mrs. Rigdon was her aunt). One day the following happened:

“During my visit Mr. Rigdon went to his bedroom and took from a trunk, which he kept locked, a certain manuscript. He came into the other room and seated himself by the fire place and commenced reading it. His wife at that moment came into the room and exclaimed, ‘What! you’re studying that thing again?’ or something to that effect. She then added, ‘I mean to burn that paper.’ He said, ‘No, indeed, you will not. This will be a great thing some day!’”¹²⁵

Mr. Schroeder introduces this as one of his items of evidence that Mr. Rigdon foreknew of the forthcoming and contents of the Book of Mormon. The thing that destroys the effect of it is, the undoubted fact that if Sidney Rigdon was engaged in such a scheme as Mr. Schroeder charges he was, then Mrs. Rigdon must have known of it. Now when Mr. Rigdon had before him in 1830 the question of what should be his relationship to Mormonism, and he had decided that it was true and that he would accept it, he naturally was concerned as to what Mrs. Rigdon’s attitude would be in the matter, and when he broached the subject to her “he was happy to find that she was not only diligently investigating the subject, but was believing with all her heart, and was desirous of obeying the truth.”¹²⁶ If it be urged by Mr. Seroeder, as it is most likely to be, that the conversion of Mrs. Rigdon, like that of her husband, was but a sham, a pre-arranged affair, that she as well as Mr. Rigdon fore-knew of the forth-coming of the Book of Mormon, then the scene at Bainbridge, described by Mrs. Dunlap as taking place, supposedly because of Mr. Rigdon’s absorption in Spaulding’s manuscript, has no place in the scheme of things to be supported by Mr. Schroeder’s contention. But I have referred to this and the Dr. Winter episode merely as illustrations of how variations and additions multiply upon myths when once started. And so

^{125.} Ibid, p. 12.

^{126.} *Millennial Star*, vol. XIV, supplement, p. 48.

it will continue to be as long as there is a relative who had a relative who heard something about what some one else had said of Rigdon's connection with Patterson and Spaulding; that is, new variations of the story will be constantly appearing.

DID RIGDON FORE-KNOW THE COMING AND CONTENTS OF THE BOOK OF MORMON?

This question is more worthy of consideration than the last, because associated with it is a man of character, Alexander Campbell. In the *Millennial Harbinger* of 1844, at page 39, is a letter quoted by Mr. Schroeder, bearing date of January 22, 1841, from Adamson Bently, in which the following passage occurs:

"I know that Sidney Rigdon told me there was a book coming out, the manuscript of which had been found engraved on gold plates, as much as two years before the Mormon book made its appearance or had been heard of by me."

It must be remembered that Bently and Rigdon married sisters, that they had family troubles in respect of property, as already explained,¹²⁷ and were rival preachers, all which would go far to discredit Bently's charge if his charge stood by itself. Alexander Campbell, however, was the editor of the *Millennial Harbinger* at this time, and in an editorial note on the above mentioned letter, lays the weight of his unqualified confirmation upon it. He says:

"The conversation alluded to in Brother Bently's letter of 1841 was in my presence as well as in his, and my recollection of it led me some two or three years ago, to interrogate Brother Bently touching his recollections of it, which accorded with mine in every particular except the year in which it occurred, he placing it in the summer of 1827, I, in the summer of 1826, Rigdon at the same time observing that in the plates dug up in New York there was an account not only of the aborigines of this country, but also it was stated that the Christian religion had been preached in this country during the first century just as we were preaching it on the Western Reserve."

127. See note 52, etc., and *Evening and Morning Star*, p. 301.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL AND THE BOOK OF MORMON IN 1831

This is Mr. Schroeder's strongest "evidence," and must be met at its full height and value. In 1831, in this same *Millennial Harbinger*, vol. II, beginning at p. 86, is an exhaustive review and analysis of the Book of Mormon, and the most powerful critique of it ever published. It is by the Reverend Alexander Campbell. After giving an analysis of each book, in the Book of Mormon, from Nephi I to Moroni, the last book in it, he then starts an investigation of its "internal evidences," and in the first subdivision he begins in this language: "Smith, its real author, as ignorant and impudent a knave as ever wrote a book, betrays the cloven foot in basing his whole book upon a false fact." Then he proceeds with the argument. In closing his argument on the "internal evidence" he uses the following language:

"The book proposes to be written at intervals and by different persons, during the long period of 1020 years, and yet for uniformity of style, there never was a book more evidently written by one set of fingers, nor more certainly conceived in one cranium since the first book appeared in human language, than this same book. If I could swear to any man's voice, face, or person, assuming different names, I could swear that this book was written by one man. And as Joseph Smith is a very ignorant man and is called the 'author' on the title page, I cannot doubt for a single moment but that he is sole 'author' and 'proprietor' of it."

Mr. Campbell also considers the testimony of the three witnesses, and of the eight witnesses, and denounces them. He is acquainted with the whole subject. He knows that it was claimed for the record that it was engraved on gold plates; that they were found buried in a stone box in New York; that an account is given in the record of the gospel having been preached in America in the first christian century—for all these things are subjects of his criticism. He criticises nearly every important doctrine and historical event in the book. He revels in his criticism, and near the conclusion of the whole says:

"If this Prophet and his three prophetic witnesses had aught

of speciosity about them or their book, we would have examined it and exposed it in a different manner. I have never felt so fully authorized to address mortal man in the style in which Paul addressed Elymas, the sorcerer, as I feel towards **this** athiest Smith."

And now question to Mr. Campbell, and to Mr. Schroeder: Could the event described in the letter of Mr. Bently and confirmed by Mr. Campbell's editorial note, have happened in 1826 or 1827 without Mr. Campbell remembering it in 1831 when he wrote this scathing review and critique on the Book of Mormon? Let it be held in mind here how explicit the charge of Bently is. More than two years before the Book of Mormon made its appearance Rigdon told Bently "there was a book coming out the manuscript of which had been found on gold plates." Campbell was present and heard this remark, and also says that Rigdon at the same time observed that "the plates were dug up in New York," and that "the christian religion had been preached in this country during the first christian century, just as we were preaching it on the western reserve." Had these things been said in the presence of Alexander Campbell, two years before the Book of Mormon came out, and so said that they made such a lasting impression upon his mind that in 1844 he remembered them perfectly—will any reasonable person undertake to say that under the strong stress of feeling exhibited by Alexander Campbell against the Book of Mormon in 1831, remembering too that this same Sidney Rigdon had left the Campbellites and joined the Mormon Church—under these circumstances, will any person, reasonable or otherwise, say that during the writing of this long and bitter criticism of the Book of Mormon in 1831 the association of ideas and incidents would not have asserted itself and recalled this alleged Bently-Rigdon incident to the mind of Alexander Campbell? Yet not one word in the Campbell review of 1831, to indicate that the Bently-Rigdon incident ever happened.

Yet as he proceeded with his review, it would have been inevitable that he would have discovered Rigdon's forth-promised book—"the manuscript of which had been found engraved on gold plates." "Why, yes," he would have said, "that must

be the book that Rigdon spoke to Bently about." He read in the preface to the first edition of the Book of Mormon—and Mr. Campbell made a specialty of this preface in his criticism—"I would also inform you that the plates of which hath been spoken were found in the township of Manchester, Ontario county, New York"—"Yes, I remember," Mr. Campbell would have exclaimed—"dug up in New York"—"I remember, that is what Sidney Rigdon said to Adamson Bently two or three years ago." He came to the account of the appearance of the risen Messiah among the aborigines of America; to the choosing of a ministry and commissioning them to preach the Gospel to all the people—"Yes" he would have exclaimed, "it is all here; that is what Rigdon said in that Bently conversation in 1826 or 1827,—'the christian religion had been preached in this country during the first century, just as we are preaching it on the western reserve'—those were his very words, and now Rigdon has joined the movement of which the coming forth of this book is a leading incident! Well! well!"

Would not such have been the mental process? And would we not, in that event, have had the Book of Mormon criticised by Mr. Campbell in 1831, from quite a different view-point than that from which he treated it? Anyone who can believe that Campbell could remember such an incident as the Bently-Rigdon incident he recites in 1844, and yet that he failed to remember it under all the circumstances of writing his review of the Book of Mormon in 1831, need not stagger over believing any seeming miracle within the experience of man, however extravagant it may be.

I shall never be able to express in words the deep depression that overcame me when the conviction of Alexander Campbell's perfidy was forced upon me. In my early manhood I had read extensively in his works. The evidence he compiled and the argument he made in his great debate with Robert Owen, the English Communist, I regard as the grandest defense ever made of historic Christianity, while his debate with Bishop Purcell on the The Roman Catholic Religion is justly described as the "battle of the giants." In these and in his debates with William McCalla and the Reverend N. L. Rice, his

bearing is admirable; he is the courteous gentleman, the splendid scholar, the patient philosopher, the fair opponent. In discussing the Book of Mormon, he exhibits a vulgarity, a bitterness utterly unaccountable, and entirely unworthy of himself; and lastly, and saddest of all, he descends to the low subterfuge of falsehood as in this Bently-Rigdon affair.

One may halt here. The Reverend Mr. Atwater quoted by Mr. Schroeder may now tell his little story, in 1873, of his "recollection" of Sidney Rigdon's reference to the mounds and other antiquities found in some parts of America, and of his saying before the Book of Mormon was published that "there was a book to be published containing an account of these things." Dr. Rosa of Painsville, Ohio, also quoted by Mr. Schroeder, can now tell, in 1841, of a conversation he had with Sidney Rigdon in the early part of 1830, about it being time for a new religion to spring up that "mankind were rife, and ready for it;" and air his suspicions that Rigdon found his "new religion" in Mormonism, and on that and a remembrance of a casual remark of Rigdon's that he expected to be absent from home a few months, build his conclusion that Rigdon "was at least an accessory, if not the principal in getting up this farce"¹²⁸—of Mormonism. All this I say may be said by these "witnessess," but it is of no effect; for if sectarian prejudice and bitterness and jealousy, coupled with intellectual pride, can so swerve Alexander Campbell from the path direct of truth and fair dealing, it is not to be marveled at if a thousand little Reverend whiffets spring forward with their timely "recollections," that make against the truth.

(To be Continued.)

¹²⁸. *American Historical Magazine*, November, 1906, p. 532.



TWO LINCOLN PORTRAITS

THE two Lincoln steel plate portraits which are printed in this number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE are exceptionally interesting. Both of them are unique inasmuch as neither has been heretofore published in its present form. For that reason they must be particularly attractive to all admirers of Lincoln and an exceptionally important contribution to Lincoln pictorial history in this Lincoln anniversary year.

The frontispiece bust portrait is from a drawing which was made from life by A. de Szzetter of New York. It is not only an artistic piece of work but it is remarkably strong in expressive likeness, particularly exhibiting the homely good nature which so preeminently characterized the features of the martyred president.

The other print is an engraving from a Brady photograph which was taken in Washington in the early days of Lincoln's presidency. It may have been the first photograph of the president taken after he entered upon office. As it appears in this print, it is unique. A reproduction of the head and upper part of the body was made years ago as a half-tone illustration, but the exact reproduction as it appears in this full life-seated figure, has never before been published.

THE LITERATURE OF COLONIAL VIRGINIA

BY CARL HOLLIDAY*

[This essay was awarded the Colonial Dames' prize for the best brief treatise on a subject dealing with colonial Virginia. I have thought that it might prove of considerable interest not only to Virginians, but also to natives of various other southern states, of which Virginia calls herself the "mother." At present there is a growing curiosity to know more about the hopes, the aspirations, the intellectual endeavors, the spirit of those pioneers who struggled to found a civilization amid the forests of the Old Dominion; and a clearer view cannot be obtained than that found by a study of the quaint writings of those old days. I have therefore endeavored to present, in an interesting way, the thoughts and emotions of the time, as written down by our virile but not highly artistic forefathers. Daintiness may be lacking, but genuine life never. It is my hope that this brief study may arouse other southern students to investigate the southern foundations of American literature just as the New England foundations have been examined—with minuteness, with accuracy, with enthusiasm.—THE AUTHOR.]

I

(1607-1676)

IT has been remarked that American Literature is distinctly different in its origin from any other literature the world has ever known. The development of every other national body of letters has been like the growth of a child; it has passed through a period of simplicity and even of *naivete* into a stage where it was conscious of its general trend and of its intellectual efforts. Certainly the first literature was not known to be literature by its creators. The heroic epics, the rough sagas, the homely ballads, the Iliad, the Beowulf, the songs of

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Robin Hood—these were in the beginning the unconscious efforts of a people striving to express its emotions and its ideals. But American literature in its birth was very different. It was a conscious effort from the beginning; it was a written literature from its earliest conception. Let us not, therefore, expect to find in these first intellectual endeavors masterpieces wrought out from the accumulated deeds, thoughts, and emotions of a thousand previous years of struggles, victories, and defeats.

“Its origin does not lie in the crude utterances of a virile but half-savage race; but rather in its very beginnings it was the product of a cultured, enlightened people. In character it was not a pure growth of the native soil, and it had not and never has had, as a whole, the national originality, the unmistakable native note, such as is found in the writings of France or Germany or England.”¹

What, then, was the nature of these earliest writings? The answer is briefly, a literature of information. When that little group of bold adventurers assembled in London during Christmas week, 1606, to prepare for the dangerous voyage and for the still more dangerous experiment in a far-away wilderness they must have felt that the eyes of all Europe were upon them. Drayton, the poet-laureate, declared that they were going forth to found a new nation and a new literature, and he spoke with more truth than he realized.

It was in England an age of great mental activity. Shakespeare yet lived; Francis Bacon thought and wrote; Milton was soon to come. Almost daily some new discovery was announced and before the eyes of an amazed people the world had suddenly doubled its area. There was a quiver in the air; a stimulating spirit pervaded all; and every one expected and indeed longed for marvelous revelations. Need I say again that our first literature was one of information? How the people longed for news from this strange land across the seas! For curious, yes, almost unbelievable, tales of wealth and wonders had been borne back. And moreover, how crowded and how poor were

1. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 15.

the English common folk. "The people," said a preacher of the day, "doe swarm in the land as young bees in a hive in June, the mighty overcoming the weak." The ruling classes, the Church, the common people; all were anxious to find greater room and greater opportunity. As Professor Moses Coit Tyler says,² "royal influence of favor and disfavor swayed largely these new and feeble currents of English life and letters which were astir beyond the Atlantic."

Because of all this we find an astonishingly large amount of writings from the scattered colonies of America. True it was not a literature of the high creative type; not many even dared to attempt poetry, as did one R. Rich, gentleman, who in his "Newes from Virginia" sang the colony's praises in such words as these:

"Great store of fowls, of venison, of grapes and mulberries, Chestnuts, walnuts and such like, of fruits and strawberries."

Perhaps it was well that not many others tempted the muse! But of letters and tracts and small books there was a host. Like the American tourist of to-day, every sojourner in the Virginia colony was moved by the spirit to write an epistle. However, the quality of these efforts—I speak of those in prose,—was surprisingly good; for, almost without exception, they were composed in strong, energetic English and had in them an element of new life and great wonder that does not fail to attraet even in our own day.

And who were these beginners of a new literature? Who set moving that spirit which produced a Hawthorne and a Poe, a Bryant and a Lanier, a Webster and a Calhoun? Not literary men, be it noted at the very beginning of this study; not even book-lovers; but men of action, actors in worldly affairs, soldiers of fortune. Generally a hero does the deed and leaves it to another man to tell. But we of America have ever been an original people, especially in the way of self-advertising, and we shall find our earliest heroes not only furnishing the deed, but recounting it also.

2. "History of American Literature."

Rufus Choate has said that when the Pilgrim Fathers landed, they "first fell upon their knees and then upon their aborigines." The Virginia colonists did neither. They were noted neither for piety nor energetic cruelty. Gay, reckless, not given to work, but ever seeking adventure, they seemingly were poor material for the foundation of a lasting nation. And had it not been for the firm ability of one man, that foundation might speedily have crumbled.

JOHN SMITH

The significant hint of the future democracy of American life and letters has been noted in the fact that the first leader and writer in the Virginia colony bore that most democratic of all names, John Smith.³ John Smith was a strange mingling of the audacious warrior and poetic cavalier. He was born in Willoughby, England, in 1579. While still a boy he enlisted in a war against the Turks; and until his twenty-seventh year he was a purposeless wanderer in search of adventure. But in this year he joined the Virginia expedition, and henceforth his life was to count for much in the progress of the world. Bold, versatile, persevering, he soon proved his fitness to be the leader of the struggling settlement in the wilderness. But for his unceasing activities in directing every movement, the colony undoubtedly would have perished; and yet amidst all his supervision of forest-clearing, house-building, trading, enforcing of colonial laws, explorations, and quelling of rebellions, he found time to write. "A rustless, vain, ambitious, overbearing, blustering fellow, who made all men either his hot friends or his hot enemies," he nevertheless belonged to that sane and wholesome class of men that can both do and express."⁴

Smith remained with the colonists two years and returned to England in the fall of 1609. Remaining there until 1614, he then went to the New England coast, returned with a map of the section about Cape Cod, and proposed to found a colony in that territory. The expedition was ruined, however, by French pirates, who captured the ships and sent the captain to prison

3. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 20.

4. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 21.

in Rochelle. Escaping to England, Smith found there an ill-concealed feeling of bitterness toward himself; for the unfortunate attempt had brought sorrow into many an English home. But as the years passed, and the colonies at length began to prosper, his past endeavors were looked upon with more justice, and he came to be considered one of the greatest authorities on explorations and colonization. To use the words of Moses Coit Tyler, truly he was "not a doer who is a dumb, not a speechmaker who cannot do."⁵ His life, so full of events, closed in 1631.

Of course, John Smith's writings cannot come under the head of *belles-lettres*. But such works as "A True Relation of Virginia" (1608), "A Map of Virginia" (1612), "New England's Trials" (1620), and "A Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles" (1624) are of such historical importance that they are not likely ever to be neglected by American scholars. And, aside from their historical attractiveness, they possess no small charm in their very expression. "The 'True Relation' possesses something of the charm of 'Robinson Crusoe.'"⁶ Dealing as it does with Indian adventures, travels into an unexplored wilderness, the building of forest-dwellings, the coming and going of friends, the dealings with a savage people, it is in fact the story of primitive life, of a returning once more to nature and a starting all over. Evidently John Smith was interested in his work; and his book, though scarcely more than a tract, and not at all an intentional literary effort, is a manly, cheerful, and hardy contribution to letters.

The "True Relation" was first sold in 1608 at "the Greyhound in Paul's Church-Yard," on almost the very day of Milton's birth and within three blocks of his birth-place. About three months later a ship arrived from London bearing a letter of complaint from the London stock-holders of the Virginia Company. Why had not revenue begun to come in? What was the trouble in Virginia? Professor Moses Coit Tyler has given

5. Tyler's "History of American Literature," Vol. 1, p. 119.

6. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 22.

Smith's reply the appropriate name of "Hotspur rhetoric." There is no mistaking the ring of the doughty Captain's voice:

"For the charge of this voyage of two or three thousand pounds we have not received the value of an hundred pounds. . . . From our ship we had not provision in victuals worth twenty pounds; and we are more than two hundred to live upon this, the one half sick, the other little better. For the sailors, I confess they daily make good cheer: but our diet is a little meal and water, and not sufficient of that . . . Captain Rutcliffe is now called Sicklemore . . . I have sent you him home lest the company should cut his throat . . . When you send again, I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers-up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have; for except we be able both to lodge them and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries, before they can be made good for anything. . . . These are the causes that have kept us in Virginia from laying such a foundation that ere this might have given much better content and satisfaction; but as yet you must not look for any profitable returns."⁷

But Smith was not merely an unabashed defender of hazardous undertakings. He had the ability to describe in vivid words the strange scenes about him. In his "Map of the Bay and the Rivers, with an Annexed Relation of the Countries and Nations That Inhabit Them" [such were titles in the good old days], he tells most interestingly of many characteristics of the lands and people. See his description of old Chief Powhatan:

"He is of personage, a tall, well proportioned man, with a sour look, his head somewhat gray, his beard so thin that it seemeth none at all, his age near sixty; of a very able and hardy body to endure any labor. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of forty or fifty of the tallest men his country doth afford. Every night upon the four quarters of his house are four sentinels, each from other a slight shoot, and at every half hour one from the *corps de garde* doth halloo, shaking his lips with his finger between them; unto whom every sentinel doth answer round from his stand. If any fail they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extremely."⁸

7. "Generall Historie of Virginia," I.

8. "Generall Historie of Virginia," I.

Just here let us hear the captain's description of the truly immortal deed of Pocahontas, the daughter of this Powhatan. And as we read let us remember that it is the first romance in American literature.

"Here more than two hundred of those grim Courtiers stood wondering at him [Smith], as he had been a monster; till Powhatan and his train had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Before a fire upon a seat like a bedstead, he sat covered with a great robe, made of Rarowen skinnies, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 years, and along on each side the house, two rows of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with something; and a great chain of white beads about their necks. At his entrance before the King, all the people gave a great shout. The Queen of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel to dry them. Having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could laid hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his brains, Pocahontas, the King's dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death; whereat the Emperour was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads and copper.

What shall we say of such a man? Too hot-blooded, too active to be a student and a master of literature, he was able, nevertheless, by this very spiritedness and exuberant enjoyment of life's activities to leave to all succeeding writers of America a most virile and happy example of vigorously expressed thoughts and expressions. Even the writers of his own nation and time did not fail to recognize the latent possibilities of his many wonderful adventures, and used them without stint. "They have acted my fatal tragedies upon the stage, and racked my relations at their pleasure,"⁹ he once complained and it was

9. "Generall Historie of Virginia," III.

10. "Epistle Dedicatory, True Travels."

true. "Hasty and boastful as he was, we find in him a man of many noble qualities, an adventurer ready and willing, a hero according to many tests."¹¹

GEORGE PERCY

Among the venturesome spirits that sailed with Captain Smith on the memorable nineteenth of December, 1606, there was a young man scarcely twenty years old, named George Percy. He was from a famous family in English history, his ancestors for at least eight generations having been Earls of Northumberland; and he himself in his career as a soldier in the Netherlands had proved that the valiant blood had lost none of its strength. And in Virginia, too, he showed such traits of leadership that next to the incomparable Smith, he was considered the ablest man in the colony. When Smith returned to England in the fall of 1609, Percy, young as he was, was chosen president and governor, and served well in that office until the arrival of Sir Thomas Gates, in May, 1610.

And why should this young adventurer be brought into a discourse on colonial literature? Well, like many another traveler of his day, and of later days too, he wrote an account of his sight-seeing—"A Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colony in Virginia by the English." Part of the work appeared in "Purchas' Pilgrimes," in 1625, and unfortunately the remainder is lost; but what we have is indeed interesting. How clearly the sufferings of the founders of this nation are brought before us. Hear his words:

"Our men were destroyed with cruel diseases as swellings, fluxes, burning fevers, and by wars, and some departed suddenly; but for the most part they died of mere famine. There were never Englishmen left in a foreign country in such misery as we were in this new discovered Virginia. We watched every three nights lying on the bare, cold ground, what weather so ever came warded all the next day, which brought our men to be most feeble wretches. Our food was but a small Can of Barley sod in water to five men a day, our drink cold water taken out of the River, which was at a flood very salt, at a low tide full

11. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 125.

of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men. Thus we lived for the space of five months in this miserable distress, not having five able men to man our Bulwarks upon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to have put a terror in the Salvages hearts, we had all perished by those wild and cruel Pagans, being in that weak estate as we were, our men night and day groaning in every corner of the Fort most pitiful to hear. If there were any conscience in men, it would make their hearts to bleed to hear the pitiful murmurings and outcries of our sick men without relief, every night and day for the space of six weeks, some departing out of the world, many times three or four in a night, in the morning their bodies trailed out of their Cabins like Dogs, to be buried. In this sort did I see the mortality of divers of our people."¹²

But it is not all sadness, this story of Percy's. He lingers at times over the details of the strange conditions of the country and over the characteristics of the curious people who inhabit it. Note the fashions of "salvage" ladies in the land of the great chief, the Werowance of Rapahanna:

"There is notice to be taken to know married women from Maids. The Maids you shall always see the fore part of their head and sides shaven close, the hinder part very long, which they tie in a plait hanging down to their hips. The married women wear their hair all of a length, and is tied of that fashion that the Maids' are. The women kind in this Country doth pounce and race their bodies, legs, thighs, arms, and faces, with a sharp iron, which makes a stamp in curious knots, and draws the proportion of Fowls, Fish, or Beasts; thin with paintings of sundry lively colors, they rub it into the stamp, which will never be taken away, because it is dried into the flesh, where it is sered."¹³

We may not linger longer over these curious tales of Percy. Have not the quotations given shown that he, like Captain Smith, possessed a mastery of clear, lively English and an ability to present graphic pictures? Surely these men of action give great show of proof to that oft-repeated, even if misquoted, expression: "Style is the man."

12. Purchas' "Pilgrimes."

13. Ibid.

WILLIAM STRACHEY

Some men are made famous through being mentioned by famous men. This was almost the case with one, William Strachey, who sailed on the good ship *Sea Venture* on the fifteenth of May, 1609. Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers were in command of that minature fleet of nine small vessels, and with such capable leaders the band of colonists hoped to land at Jamestown within the usual three months. But the elements heed doughty English knights no more than other "folk that sail the sea," and eleven long months passed before the broken wreck of the expedition drifted into Jamestown.

Overcome by storms, the ships were scattered far and wide, and the little *Sea Venture* was cast, a shivered hulk, upon the Bermuda coast. But such men as Gates and Strachey were not easily daunted. After spending the winter there they built from the wreckage of the ship two clumsy, little boats, and sailed for Jamestown. Any history of America tells what distress they found there and how they all were about to desert when Lord De La Warr came with supplies and longed-for friends; but, unfortunately, every history does not tell of that fearful voyage across the sea. Let us hear it in Strachey's own words—from his "True Repertory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Kt., upon and from the Islands of the Bermudas; his coming to Virginia, and the Estate of that Colony then and after under the government of Lord La Warr" (1610).¹⁴ The title seems a bit forbidding to us concise people of the twentieth century; but the story does not depend upon the title for merit. We are on the verge of the storm:

"On St. James his day, July 24, being Monday (preparing for no less all the black night before) the clouds gathering thiek upon us, and the winds singing and whistling most unusually, . . . a dreadful storm and hideous began to blow from out the Northeast, which, swelling and roaring as it were by fits, . . . at length did beat all light from heaven, which like an hell of darkness, turned black upon us, so much the more fuller of horror, as in such cases horror and fear use to overrun the

14. Purchas' "Pilgrimes."

troubled and overmastered senses of all, which (taken up with amazement) the ears lay so sensible to the terrible cries, and murmurs of the winds and distraction of our Company as who was most armed and best prepared was not a little shaken. . .

"For four and twenty hours the storm, in a restless tumult, had blown so exceedingly, as we could not apprehend in our imaginations any possibility of greater violence, yet did we still find it, not only more terrible, but more constant, fury added to fury, and one storm urging a second, more outrageous than the former, whether it so wrought upon our fears, or indeed met with new forces. Sometimes strikes in our Ship amongst women, and passengers not used to such hurly and discomforts, made us look one upon the other with troubled hearts and panting bosoms, our clamors drowned in the winds, and the winds in thunder. Prayers might well be in the heart and lips, but drowned in the outcries of the Officers,—nothing heard that could give comfort, nothing seen that might encourage hope. . . .

"Howbeit this was not all; it pleased God to bring a greater affliction yet upon us, for in the beginning of the storm we had received likewise a mighty leak, and the ship in every joint almost having spewed out her Okam, before we were aware . . . was grown five foot suddenly deep with water above her ballast, and we almost drowned within, whilst we sat looking when to perish from above. This, imparting no less terror than danger, ran through the whole Ship with much fright and amazement, startled and turned the blood and took down the braves of the most hardy Mariner of them all, insomuch as he that before happily felt not the sorrow of others, now began to sorrow for himself, when he saw such a pond of water so suddenly broken in, and which he knew could not (without present avoiding) but instantly sink him. . . .

"Once so huge a Sea brake upon the poop and quarter, upon us, as it covered our ship from stern to stem, like a garment or a vast cloud. It filled her brimful for a while within, from the hatches up to the spar deck. This force or confluence of water was so violent, as it rushed and carried the Helm man from the Helm and wrested the Whipstaffe out of his hand, which so flew from side to side, then when he would have seized the same again, it so tossed him from starboard to larboard, as it was God's mercy it had not split him. It so beat him from his hold, and so bruised him, as a fresh man hazarding in by chance fell fair with it and by main strength bearing somewhat up, made good his place, and with much clamor encouraged and called up-

on others, who gave her now up, rent in pieces and absolutely lost."¹⁵

William Strachey wrote other works, such as his "For the Colony in Virginea Britannia; Laws Divine, Morall, and Martiall" (1612), and his "Historie of Travaile in Virginea Britannia,"¹⁶ (1618?), but he never wrote anything more vivid than the description of the storm. Evidently Shakespeare was of the same opinion; for turn to the opening scenes of "The Tempest" and see if the master has not used that wild word-picture. We Americans are noted for our plentiful stock of ideas, and even in our very infancy we gave Shakespeare one or two!

ALEXANDER WHITAKER

Goldsmith has portrayed his ideal clergyman in these words:

"Unpracticed he to fawn, or seek for power
By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour;
Far other aims his heart had learned to prize,
More skilled to raise the wretched than to rise."

Alexander Whitaker, (1585-1617), was such a man. "Of all the figures in early colonial history, with the possible exception of Roger Williams, this man showed the most God-like characteristics, the most sincere spirit of sacrifice, and the most unflagging zeal for the up-lifting of his brother-men."¹⁷

A graduate of Cambridge University, where his father, William Whitaker, had long been master of St. John's College, he had early gained a comfortable parish in northern England, and, through his family connection, his capacity for leadership, and his broad learning, might quickly have risen to a lofty position in the service of the English Church. But there was an ever-growing conviction in the man's heart that his God was calling him to the new world, and "to the wonder of his kindred and amazement of all that knew him,"¹⁸ he resigned his pleasant living and all his brilliant prospects, and came as a

15. Purchas' "Pilgrimes."

16. Publications of the Hakluyt Society, (1849).

17. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 29.

18. Crashawe's "Epistle Dedicatory"; Whitaker's "Good Newes."

missionary with Sir Thomas Dale, in May, 1611. Well may he be called "the apostle to Virginia." Laboring with all his heart, undertaking every duty no matter how humble, a living example of his own preaching, he set before the Indians and the colonists, too, such a practical form of Christianity that the entire community felt the direct effects. It was while going the round of his heavy duties that he met his death by drowning, in June, 1617.

It is no small fame to have been the preacher who baptized Pocahontas and married that dusky maid to John Rolfe, and thus to have given rise to the vast majority of Virginia's leading families! But it is not because of his being the innocent cause of so much earthly pride that we consider Alexander Whitaker in a study of early Virginia literature; rather is it because in his zeal he contributed to our earliest literature some of its most interesting pages. In 1613 there appeared in London a little book entitled "Good Newes from Virginia." Its sincerity and earnestness cannot be doubted. Taking a text, like the preacher that he is, he expounds most vigorously upon the duties of Englishmen toward their benighted brethren, and produces indeed a "pithy and godly exhortation interlaced with narratives of many particulars touching the country, climate, and commodities."¹⁹

"If we consider," he writes, "the almost miraculous beginning and continuance of this plantation we must needs confess that God hath opened this passage unto us and led us by the hand unto this work. For the mariners that were sent hither first to discover this Bay of Chesapeake found it only by the mere directions of God's providence; for I heard one of them confess that even then, when they were entered within the mouth of the Bay, they deemed the place they sought for to have been many degrees further. The finding was not so strange, but the continuance and upholding of it hath been most wonderful. I may fitly compare it to the growth of an infant, which hath been afflicted from his birth with some grievous sickness that many times no hope of life hath remained and yet it liveth still. Again if there were nothing else to encourage us, yet this one thing may stir us up to go on cheerfully with it: that the devil is a

19. Crashaw's "Epistle Dedicatory"; Whitaker's "Good Newes."

capital enemy against it, and continually seeketh which way to hinder the prosperity and good proceedings of it. Yea, hath heretofore so far prevailed by his instruments, the covetous hearts of many backsliding adventurers at home, and also by his servants here—some striving for superiority, others by murmurings, mutinies, and plain treasons, and others by fornication, profaneness, idleness and such monstrous sins—that he had almost thrust out of his kingdom, and had indeed quitted this land of us, if God had not then (as one awakened out of sleep) stood up and sent us means of great help when we needed most, and expected least relief.

“Let the miserable condition of these naked slaves of the devil move you to compassion toward them. They acknowledge that there is a great good God but know Him not, having the eyes of their understanding as yet blinded: wherefore they serve the devil for fear after a most base manner, sacrificing sometimes (as I have here heard) their own children to him. . . . Their priests (whom they call Quiokosoughs) are no other but such as our English witches are. They live naked in body, as if their shame of their sin deserved no covering. Their names are as naked as their body. . . .

“ . . . They are of body lusty, strong and very nimble: they are a very understanding generation, quick of apprehension, sudden in their dispatches, subtle in their dealings, exquisite in their inventions, and industrious in their labor. I suppose the world hath no better marksmen with their bow and arrows than they be; they will kill birds flying, fishes swimming and beasts running: they shoot also with marvellous strength. They shot one of our men (being unarmed) quite through the body and nailed both his arms to his body with one arrow. . . . The service of their God is answerable to their life being performed with great fear and attention and many strange dumb shows used in the same, stretching forth their limbs and straining their body much like to the counterfeit women in England who feign themselves bewitched or possessed of some evil spirit.²⁰

Thus the little book continues. His plea for the savages has a certain sense of dignity about it, a certain disinterestedness and high nobility. But we of to-day find more pleasure in such interesting descriptions as those just read; for here all stiffness, all conventionality of style, all signs of affectation are lost

20. “Good Newes from Virginia.”

in the genuine wonder in which the cultured Cambridge man stands before the naked savage of the wilderness. Such meetings were not unusual in that time. The days of Shakespeare had many such characters as Whitaker,—men of superior intellectual power, who in a quiter age might have become zealous students and deep thinkers and elegant writers, but who in those days of marvelous discoveries and wild adventures, felt called upon to go forth “to dare and to do.”

JOHN ROLFE

Even in a paper dealing with so limited a field as ours one may not discuss in deserved detail all the interesting writings of those old days. I have said in opening this study that their number was legion. We may not linger over gentle John Rolfe, who, in such a plain yet winsome manner, told why he married the first American heroine, Pocahontas. Read some time the quaint “Coppie of the gentle-man’s letters to Sir Thomas Dale, that after married Powhatan’s daughter, containing the reasons moving him thereunto.”²¹ Suffice to say here that though not “ignorant of the heavie displeasure which almighty God conceived against the sons of Levie and Israel for marrying strange wives, nor of the inconveniencies which may thereby arise,” he confesses that he can have no rest until he makes her a Christian; that is—his wife.

R. RICH

I have quoted sparingly from R. Rich’s alleged “poem,” “Newes from Virginia;” but again the limited length of this study will not allow me to linger over his work; for which both R. Rich and we ourselves are to be congratulated, as neither would find great joy in the investigation. It is enough to declare that his efforts literally contain more truth than poetry.

COLONEL NORWOOD

Another of these numerous writers whom we shall have to pass with but a word was a certain or rather a very uncertain

21. Printed in Hamor’s “True Discourse” (1615).

Colonel Norwood. Almost nothing is known of the man save that he was a near relative of the famous Governor Berkeley and made a dangerous voyage to America in 1649. Hear these few words from his "Voyage to Virginia" (1650?).²²

"... the famine grew sharp upon us. Women and children made dismal cries and grievous complaints. The infinite number of rats that all the voyage had been our plague, we now were glad to make our prey to feed on; and as they were insnared and taken, a well grown rat was sold for sixteen shillings as a market rate. Nay, before the voyage did end (as I was credibly inform'd) a woman great with child offered twenty shillings for a rat, which the proprietor refusing, the woman died.

"My greatest impatience was of thirst, and my dreams were all of cellars, and taps running down my throat, which made my waking much the worse by that tantalizing fancy. Some relief I found very real by the captain's favour in allowing me a share of some butts of small claret he had concealed in a private cellar for a dead lift. It wanted a mixture of water for qualifying it to quench thirst, however, it was a present remedy, and a great refreshment to me."

JOHN PORY

This speaking of wine-cellars and flowing taps and butts of claret is not at all a bad introduction to the study of another writer of colonial Virginia. His name was John Pory, and, according to his friends, he followed altogether too much "the custom of strong potations." Indeed he seemed to be on the road to ruin when certain of these friends secured for him the position of secretary of the Virginia colony. Born about 1570, he was graduated from Cambridge University, where he received also the master's degree, and for some time made a special study of history, geography, and commerce. He was a brilliant man, the efficient translator of an Italian work, "*A Geographical Historie of Africa*," a member of parliament at thirty-five and a man apparently having a great future before him. But almost fifty years of his life had now passed, and all these brilliant prospects had realized little fruit.

22. Reprinted in Force's "Historical Tracts."

Under such conditions it was that he came to America. Scarcely had he arrived at Jamestown when he became one of the principal figures in colonial life. He was made a member of the council, and was appointed speaker of that memorable house of burgesses which met on July 30, 1619,—the first body of representatives ever elected in the Virginia colony. But among colonial Virginians, a man was not likely to become a teetotaler, and Pory's following of "the custom of strong potation" was altogether too strenuous to allow much attention to other duties. Consequently we find him in 1621 giving up all offices in the colony and returning to England. In 1623 he made a brief trip to Virginia to make a report for the king, and then, after four almost fruitless years spent in his native land, he died in September, 1635.

Pory wrote no books; he was too busy at a more congenial occupation. But he wrote some most interesting letters and accounts of his adventures in the Old Dominion. Here, for instance, is a specimen of Indian hospitality:

"Not long after Namenacus, the king of Pawtuxunt, came to us to seeke for Thomas Salvage our Interpreter. Thus insinuating himselfe, hee led us into a thicket, where all sitting down, hee shewed us his naked breast; asking if wee saw any deformitie upon it, wee told him. No. 'No more,' said hee, 'is the inside, but as sincere and pure; therefore come freely to my Countrie and welcome';—which wee promised wee would within six weeks after. . . .

" . . . Passing Russel's Ile and Onaucoke, wee arrived at Pawtuxunt. . . . But here arriving at Attoughcomoco the habitation of Namenacus and Wamanato, his brother, long wee staid not ere they came aboard us with a brass Kettle, as bright without as within, full of boyled Oisters. . . . Wamanato brought mee first to his house, where hee shewed mee his wife and children, and many Corn-fields. . . . The next day hee presented mee twelve Bever skinnies and a Canow, which I requited with such things to his content, that hee promised to keepe them whilst hee lived, and burie them with him being dead. Hee much wondered at our Bible, but much more to heare it was the Lawe of our God, and the first chapter of Genesis expounded of Adam and Eve, and simple marriage; to which hee replied, hee was like Adam in one thing, for hee never had but one wife at once."²³

23. In Smith's "Generall Historie of Virginia."

Doubtless Pory was not without that sense of humor and that strain of philosophy which make a man at home wherever he may be. Writing from "James Citty" to Sir Dudley Carleton, in September, 1619, he thus expresses his opinion of colonial affairs:

"Nowe that your lordship may knowe that we are not the veriest beggars in the worlde our cowkepper here of James citty on Sundayes goes accowtered all in freshe flaming silke; and a wife of one that in England had professed the black arte, not of a scholler, but of a collier of Croydon, weares his rough bever hatt with a faire perle hattband and a silken suite there-to correspondent. But to leave the Populace and to come higher:—the Governor here, who at his first coming, besides a great deale of worth in his person, brought only his sword with him, was at his late being in London, together with his lady, out of his meer gettings here able to disburse very near three thousand pounds to furnishe himselfe for his voyage. And once within seven years I am persuaded (*absit invidia verba*) that the Governor's place here may be as profitable as the Lord Deputies' of Ireland. . . .

"At my first coming hither the solitary uncouthness of this place compared with those parts of Christendome or Turkey where I had been; and likewise my being sequestred from all occurrents and passages which are so rife there, did not a little vex me. And yet in these five months of my continuance here, there have come at one time or another eleven saile of ships into this river; but fraughted more with ignorance than with any other marchandize. At lengthe being hardned to this custome of abstinence from enriosity, I am resolved wholly to minde my business here and nexte after my pen to have some good booke always in store, being in solitude the best and choicest company. Besides among these christall rivers and odoriferous woods I doe escape much expense, envye, contempte, vanity, and vexation of minde."

Verily philosophy is a very present help in time of trouble!

JOHN HAMMOND

It has been said that "once a Virginian always a Virginian." Therefore I am determined to include in this study one John Hammond, who was in reality a Marylander. However, he had

lived in Virginia nineteen years, and what farther excuse should I desire? He wrote a book named "Leah and Rachel, or the Two Fruitful Sisters, Virginia and Maryland," which title, by the way, according to Biblical history, would give Virginia something of a shadowy reputation for homeliness and trickery. Let us, however, pass that by as a mere oversight on the part of honest John Hammond. For he was indeed an honest man. Plain, blunt, shrewd, he at once calls to mind the practical sterling character of Benjamin Franklin. He was "the first man to express in literature a true love and an uncompromising admiration for America."²⁴

Having emigrated to Virginia in 1635, he remained in that colony for nineteen years and then removed to Maryland, where he resided for two years. Because of disturbances in that colony he was obliged to return to England; but scarcely had he set foot on his native shore when he began to long once more for his adopted home.

"It is that country," he exclaims, "in which I desire to spend the remnant of my days, in which I covet to make my grave." How limited, how mean, how starved the life of the English people seemed to him!

"They itch out their wearisome lives in reliance of other men's charities an uncertain and unmanly expectation. . . I have seriously considered when I have (passing the streets) heard the several cries and noting the commodities and the worth of them they have carried and cried up and down, how possibly a livelihood could be exacted out of them, as to cry 'matches,' 'small coal,' 'blacking,' 'pen and ink,' 'thread,' 'laces,' and a hundred more such kind of trifling merchandises."²⁵

But things are very different in Virginia.

"Several ways of advancement there are and employments both for the learned and laborer, recreation for the gentry, traffic for the adventurer, congregations for the ministry (and oh that God would stir up the hearts of more to go over, such

24. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 37.

25. "Leah and Rachel."

as would teach good doctrine, and not paddle in faction or state matters . . .).

"It is known (such preferment hath this country rewarded the industrious with) that some from being wool-hoppers and of as mean and meaner employment in England have there grown great merchants, and attained to the most eminent advancements the country afforded. . . ." ²⁶

Hammond admits that preachers are badly needed in Virginia and that

"very few of good conversation would adventure thither. . . . Yet many came, such as wore black coats and could babble in a pulpit, roar in a tavern, exact from their parishioners, and rather by their dissoluteness destroy than feed their flocks." ²⁷

But such a fault is only a minor one, and, convinced that Virginia is the paradise of the world, Hammond clinches his argument with the positive statement that

"therefore those that shall blemish Virginia any more, do but like the Dog bark against the Moon, until they be blind and weary: and Virginia is now in that secure growing condition, that like the Moon so barked at, she will pass on her course, mangre all detractors, and a few years will bring it to that glorious happiness that many of her calumniators will intercede to procure admittance thither, when it will be hard to be attained to." ²⁸

Here, then, is the beginning of that patriotism which within a few years was to rouse the people to a spirited and significant rebellion, and which exactly a century after that rebellion roused them to a world-changing revolution. Old John Hammond, with his uncouth but shrewd way of telling the truth, was but a forerunner of the irresistible movement.

GEORGE SANDYS

We have observed that very little poetry was written in the Virginia colony in these early days. R. Rich's attempt has

²⁶. Ibid.

²⁷. Ibid.

²⁸. "Leah and Rachel."

been sufficiently commented upon. The versatile Smith also essayed at least one poem, "The Sea Mark," but it is almost as disastrous a wreck as the one he attempted to describe. One poet, however, among those early adventurers, sang with such vigor and beauty that to this day his work is looked upon as a real contribution to belles-lettres. This man was George Sandys (1578-1644). Tradition says that he walked the crooked and stump-bedecked streets of "James Citty," ornamented with a costly lace collar and a most carefully waxed mustache; but be all that as it may, he was known both in Virginia and in England as a man of exceptional intellect and attainment. A son of Edward Sandys, archbishop of York, he was a brother of that greatly feared statesman who caused James I. to exclaim, "Choose the Devil if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys!" A student of Oxford, a traveler in many lands, the author of a well-known poem, "A Hymn to my Redeemer," written, it is said, within the Holy Sepulchre itself, he was looked upon as a man of great possibilities. But he had yet another ground for great expectations; for shortly before his departure for America he had brought forth a translation of the first five books of Ovid so pure, so vigorous, so excellent in many ways that praise was unbounded.

There was great disappointment when the friends of Sandys discovered that he was going to America. Could the muses survive in that vast wilderness? Many urged him to remain in his homeland, and the poet Drayton felt called upon to encourage and sustain him.

"Go on with Ovid, as you have begun
With the first five books; let your numbers run
Glib as the former; so shall it live long
And do much honor to the English tongue.
Entice the Muses thither to repair;
Entreat them gently; train them to that air:
For thy from hence may thither hap to fly."

It would seem that there was indeed grave danger of their flying back to England; for the duties of the colonial offices which he held were arduous, and little time was the poet's own. Yet, in spite of the fact, as his dedication declares, that it had

"wars and tumults to bring it to light, instead of the Muses," the remainder of the "Metamorphoses" was finished in 1626. This work was as highly praised as were the first books, soon sold into several editions, and as a result the poet began to long to be once more among his appreciative friends in England. Moreover, his somewhat high-strung nature had led him into frequent clashes with the colonists, and he was weary of strife. We find him, therefore, leaving Jamestown in 1631, and returning to Kent, England, where he "after his travaille over the world, retired himself for his poetry and contemplation."

Professor Moses Coit Tyler has called Sandys' translation "the first utterance of the conscious literary spirit articulated in America."²⁹ Judged by any standard of criticism, it is a highly excellent effort, but considered with the circumstances under which it was written, it is nothing short of astonishing. Extremely refined, and certainly scholarly, it at the same time possesses that virility which is necessary in a worthy translation. Oftentimes Sandys seems to catch the very spirit of the ancient singer, and to speak, not from a book in a foreign tongue, but from his own soul. Space will not permit of many selections, but the following often admired one will serve to show the vigor and vividness of the whole. King Tereus has been unfaithful to his spouse, Procne, and has cruelly debased her sister, Philomela. In her bitter ire Procne slays her beloved son, serves him cooked for the king's table, and awaits with joy the consequences. The king eats heartily of the banquet, and then asks for his little son.

"Procne could not disguise her cruel joy,
In full fruition of her horrid ire,
'Thou hast,' said she, 'within thee thy desire.'
He looks about, asks where; and while again
He asks and calls, all bloody with the slain
Forth like a Fury, Philomela flew
And at his face the head of Itys threw;
Nor ever more than now desired a tongue
To express the joy of her revenged wrong.
He with loud outcries doth the board repel.
And calls the Furies from the depths of hell;

29. "History of American Literature," vol. I, p. 154.

Now tears his breast, and strives from thence in vain
To pull the abhorred food; now weeps amain
And calls himself his son's unhappy tomb;
Then draws his sword and through the guilty room
Pursues the sisters, who appear with wings
To cut the air; and so they did. One sings
In words; the other near the house remains
And on her breast yet bears her murder's stains,
He, swift with grief and fury, in that space
His person changed. Long tufts of feathers grace
His shining crown; his sword a bill became;
His face all armed; whom we a lapwing name."³⁰

This is the work, be it remembered, of a poet singing amidst the hardships of the Virginia wilderness. Truly "wars and tumults" brought it forth. Yet, who can say that something of its vigor is not due to that very intensity with which circumstances compelled him to write, and, also, to that vast primitiveness and never-wearying freshness of Nature about him?

What shall we say in concluding this study of the first period of colonial Virginia literature? It approaches greatness in but one instance, and yet all of it is decidedly interesting. It is so "human," so virile, so full of wonder and renewed life. True, it is for the most part geographical and descriptive, but its writers knew that they were telling astounding things, and each wrote with all his heart. In only one instance have we detected the voice of patriotism; but that one instance is clear and unmistakable. In the next period, however, we shall see that germ of love grow and spread until it has entered the heart of every colonist, caused a mighty revolution, and brought forth a new nation.

(To be Continued.)

30. Sandy's "Ovid," VI.

THE DIARY OF AN OFFICER IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY IN 1794

CONTRIBUTED BY ERNEST CRUIKSHANK

HEREWITH, concluded from the November, 1908, number of this magazine, is a transcript of documents found among the papers of the late Colonel William Claus of Niagara, Ontario, for many years the deputy-superintendent of the British Indian department for upper Canada. As has been already said, it seems probable that they were written by John Chew, an officer in the same department, for the information of Major-General Simecoe, the lieutenant-governor of the province.

Camp on a branch of the Wabash 95 miles from the Glaise.

Saturday, June 28th.

Continued on the same road leading to Fort Greenville S. by W. six miles marching in twelve open files. Twenty-five Mingoes joined. The number of deer killed this day computed at two hundred and as many turkeys. A Miami Indian came into camp and says that Wells had killed five more of his nation near the Miami towns. The number of men this day in camp amounts to 1,159, one hundred and nine of them without arms.

This night ten men to be posted on the Greenville road; bells stopped horses tied up and the men to have their arms in order. Cutting off the ammunition between the forts and the Ohio is the only project by which we could promise success, but as the Northern Indians take the lead we are forced to change our course to-morrow for Fort Recovery, where nothing effectual can be done, but on the contrary the means perhaps of discovering our force will put the enemy upon their guard.

Camp 120 miles from the Glaise.

Sunday, June 29th.

Detached twelve men to take a prisoner in order to get information respecting the force of Wayne's army, and when the pro-

vision brigade is to set off from Fort Washington. About ninety Wyandotts joined. John Norton is supposed to have deserted to the enemy.

Camp before Fort Recovery, 128 miles computed from the Glaise.

June 30th.

Our spies came in and gave information of a vast number of post horses being arrived at Fort Recovery last night, and probably would return this morning, consequently marched west four miles; came upon the van of the brigade, made an attack and killed sixteen men, took four prisoners, 300 pack-horses, thirty bullocks and a few light horses. The garrison attempted to give them assistance by sending out the light horse, but they were soon driven in again. In this attack we had only three men killed, but the Indians were so animated [that they] kept up a continued fire for a whole day upon the fort by which they lost seventeen men killed and as many wounded. I am sorry to say that for want of good conduct this affair is far from being so complete as might be expected. Captain Beaulvin was shot thro' the body very near the heart, but perhaps not mortal.

The garrison at Fort Recovery is 350, twenty Chickasaws and a party of light horse. Fort Recovery consists of block-houses, mounted with cannon and picketed between. The fort kept up a continual fire and even now and then a shell, together with small arms, so as we were not able to bring off some of the dead and wounded.

Four Wyandotts met a party of Chickasaws and had one wounded and another killed or taken prisoner. Between Forts Recovery and Greenville they have about one hundred Chickasaws to serve as scouts and expect some hundreds more to come as a prisoner says. Wells, May and the Chickasaw chief were killed in the attack. Had we two barrels of powder Fort Recovery would have been in our possession with the help of Sinclair's cannon.

Camp E. N. E. from Fort Recovery on the head of the Wabash River.

July 1st, 1794.

This day we buried our dead and carried off our wounded

to this place. One Chickasaw more killed. The Lake Indians all went off this day. General Wayne is to commence his campaign about the middle of next month. He expects an augmentation to his force of about 3,000 militia from Kentucky and 1,000 Chickasaws and Chocktaws; he is to build a fort at the Glaise and proceed from thence towards Detroit. Captain Gibson, commandant at the fort, is killed.

July 2d .

After the Lake Indians went off, the whole army was breaking up, but a message came from the Delawares that they were (at last) upon the march and would join this day; the Four Nations in consequence will wait until their arrival, and if they can agree to proceed from hence in a circular route to Fort Hamilton, where they ought to have gone at first. Instead of having about 2,000 men as was expected, we will not now have above 500. Such a disappointment never was met with.

(sg.) J. C.

John Norton found, he being lost in the woods for several days, as he says. The Delawares joined. A council of war was held and it was unanimously agreed that it was better for the army to return to the Glaise since all the Lake Indians at all events were going back and the country now alarmed so as to prevent us making any stroke upon the provision-brigades and also that there was the greatest probability that Wayne would not turn out to fight till the Kentucky militia were arrived; the Delawares in the meantime to keep a lookout and watch the motions of the enemy.

The number of the enemy killed in the last attack cannot be ascertained. A great many must have been killed when they came out of the fort, together with several shot through the embrasures. A great groaning was heard in the fort, so that the dead and wounded may be nearer fifty than the number before mentioned, that being the number only of those we have seen. I must observe with grief that the Indians never had it in their power to do more and have done so little. It is not above eighty miles from the Glaise to Fort Recovery and can be rid in one day.

BOOK OF BRUCE

BY LYMAN HORACE WEEKS

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

COLLATERAL FAMILIES OF SCOTLAND

FROM the beginnings of its long career the house of Bruce became connected in marriage, generation after generation, with most of the powerful families of Scotland. The Bruce strength as claimant to the throne of Scotland was decidedly reenforced by these alliances, which also added the increased distinction of notable ancestral traditions through various collateral lines. The sons and daughters of Bruce were naturally sought in marriage by the other noble families with whom they were associated, and especially since few of those had any trace of royal descent such as made the Bruces conspicuous among their contemporaries. Almost alone in rivalry on the ground of this royal origin were the Baliols and the Cumyns who traced to the ancient kingly house of Scotland the same as the Bruces. But even they, notable though they were, had not behind them the royal ancestry in other lines that the Bruces possessed.

Genealogically, therefore, the history of the Bruces clearly includes the history of the largest proportion of the prominent families of Scotland from the year 1000 onward, and afterwards of many of the foremost noble families of England as well. So far as the marriages of the Bruces, either on the male or female lines, into these families is concerned, the distinction achieved by them becomes part of the distinction naturally belonging to the Bruce stock. In other chapters of this book special attention has been given to the inheritances that came to the Bruces through marriage and intermarriage into several of the more conspicuous families of that age, such as the Stewarts and the Cavendishes. Scarcely of lesser interest is the his-

tory of other families, of lesser fame only to those just mentioned.

By the marriage of Lady Mary, daughter of Donald, the tenth earl of MAR, to King Robert Bruce I., the line of one of the oldest noble houses of Scotland was connected with that of Bruce. Concerning the title of Mar, Lord Hailes remarks that it is one of the earldoms whose origin has been lost in the mists of antiquity. The first earl of Mar of whom there is any record is Martacus who was living under King Malcolm Canmore in 1065. Gratnach, son of Martacus, is recorded as one of the witnesses to the foundation charter given by King Alexander I. to the monastery at Scone in 1114. Morgundus, son of Gratnach, was the third earl of Mar, and lived in the time of King Malcolm IV. Gillocher, son of Morgundus, was living in 1163 and was the fourth earl of Mar.

MORGUND, son of Gillocher, was living in 1171 and was the fifth earl of Mar. According to a curious writing preserved by the historian Selden, he received in 1171 from King William I. a renewal of the investitures of the earldom. He donated much property to the church and gave lands to the priory of St. Andrew's "for the welfare of the souls of himself and his wife Agnes." He had five sons: Gilbert, who was the sixth earl of Mar; Gilchrist, who was the seventh earl of Mar; Duncan, who was the eighth earl of Mar; Malcolm and James.

DUNCAN, third son of the preceding, became the eighth earl of Mar, succeeding his two elder brothers who died without issue. He was living in the reign of King Alexander II. and made donations to the church of St. Mary of Monymunk, being also a benefactor of the monks of Culdees. He died some time before 1234. He married Isabella, daughter of William, son of Nessius, lord of Latherisk.

WILLIAM, son of the preceding, succeeded his father and became the ninth earl of Mar. He was a trusted counsellor of King Alexander III. and was one of the nobles who guaranteed the treaties of Scotland with England in 1237 and 1244. When the party of Henry III. prevailed in Scotland in 1255 he was removed from his official position in the government of King

Alexander, but in 1258 he was chosen a regent of Scotland, and in 1264 was made great chamberlain of Scotland. He was sent on a special mission to King Henry III. of England in 1270 and died shortly after that time. He married Elizabeth Cumyn, daughter of William Cumyn, earl of Buchan. She died in 1267. He had two sons, Donald and Duncan.

DONALD, eldest son of the preceding, was the tenth earl of Mar. He was knighted by King Alexander III. at Scone, September 29, 1270. He was one of the Scottish nobles who, in February 1283-4, bound themselves to support the right of succession of Margaret of Norway to the throne of Scotland in the contingency that King Alexander III. should die without leaving a male heir. He was witness to the contract between Margaret of Scotland and King Eric of Norway in 1281, and was otherwise prominent in all the great events of his age. He died in 1294. His daughter, Lady Isabel, married King Robert Bruce I., and his daughter, Lady Mary, married Kenneth, the third earl of Sutherland.

GRATNEY, son of the preceding, succeeded his father in the earldom in 1294. He died some time before 1300. He married Christiana Bruce, daughter of Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, and sister of King Robert Bruce. Besides his son Donald, he had a daughter who married Sir John Menteith.

DONALD, son of the preceding, became the twelfth earl of Mar upon the death of his father in 1300. He was intimately associated with his royal uncle, King Robert Bruce, in the early campaigns of that monarch. When the Bruce was defeated in 1306 the earl of Mar was made a prisoner by the English and was detained in captivity until the battle of Bannockburn in 1314. He was one of the party of Scotch prisoners, which included the wife, sister, and daughter of Bruce, who after that event were exchanged for the earl of Hereford. For a short time he resided in England, but in 1318 he was a member of the parliament that met at Scone. He was appointed by King Edward II. of England as the guardian of the castle of Bristol which he afterwards delivered to the queen, and himself returned to Scotland. In the invasion conducted into England by

Randolph and Douglas in 1327 he had a small command. After the death of Randolph, who was then regent of the kingdom, Mar was elected by parliament to the vacancy. As regent he assumed command of the Scottish army, but was defeated by Edward Baliol in 1332 and killed in the rout that followed. He married Isabel, daughter of Sir Alexander Stewart of Bonkill, and had, besides his son Thomas, a daughter Margaret.

THOMAS, son of the preceding, succeeded to the earldom of Mar. He was conspicuous in public transactions in the time of King David II., and held many important official positions. He was entrusted with the mission to England to plead for the liberation of King David II. from captivity in 1351. When King David was released in 1357 he was one of the seven lords of Scotland from whom three were selected as hostages for the fulfillment of the terms of the treaty. He was Great Chamberlain of Scotland in 1358 and ambassador to England in 1362. He held many lands and was made a pensioner by King Edward III. He was married three times, but died without issue and with him the male line of the earls of Mar became extinct.

“No surname in Scotland can boast of a more noble origin than that of DUNBAR; being sprung from the Saxon kings of England, the princes and earls of Northumberland.”¹

CRINAN, the first of the family of whom there is any record, was a nobleman before the conquest of England by William of Normandy. He was probably of the royal line of Athol, for it is recorded that Crinan was the father of Duncan who attacked Macbeth in 1045. The Irish annalists say that Crinan, the abbott of Dunkeld, and many with him, even twenty heroes, were engaged in that affair. Crinan married Algitha, daughter of Uchtred, earl of Northumberland, by Elgiva, his wife, who was a daughter of King Ethelbert of England.

MALDRED, was a son of the preceding.

COSPATRIC, son of the preceding, was in Scotland before 1068. He was created earl of Northumberland by William the Conqueror, but was soon deprived of that honor on account of some

1. Douglas' "Baronage of Scotland."

disagreement with his royal master. Thereupon he fled to Scotland where he was received by King Malcolm Canmore who gave to him Dunbar and lands adjoining. Not only was he an earl but he became a monk of Durham, and dying in December, 1069, was buried in the monks' burying ground at Durham.

COSPATRIC, son of the preceding, was the second earl. He was a great benefactor to the abbey of Kelso. He died August 16, 1139.

COSPATRIC, son of the preceding, belonged to the brotherhood of Kelso. He died in 1147.

COSPATRIC, eldest son of the preceding, was the fourth earl. He founded the Cistercian convents of Coldstream and Eccles, in Berwick County, and was a benefactor of the abbey of Melrose. He died in 1166, leaving two sons.

WALDERE, eldest son of the preceding, was the fifth earl, but the first to have the territorial designation of Dunbar. He was one of the hostages for the due performance of the treaty for the liberation of King William I. He died in 1182. He married Aelina and left two sons and one daughter.

PATRICIUS, OR PATRICK DUNBAR, son of the preceding, was the sixth earl. He was justiciary of Lothian and keeper of Berwick. In 1218 he founded the House of the Red Friars at Dunbar, and when advanced in years retired to a monastery. He died in 1232. He married, first, Ada, daughter of King William the Lion; second, Christina. By his first wife he had four sons and one daughter.

PATRICK DUNBAR, eldest son of the preceding, was the seventh earl in 1232. He was a powerful noble of the first rank and was a crusader under King Louis IX. He gave a house to the monks of Dryebergh and lands to Melros. In 1235 he commanded the army sent against Thomas Dowmac-Allan of Galloway, the usurper, and made him submit. He was a witness to the treaty between King Alexander II. of Scotland and King Henry II. of England at York in 1237, and one of the guarantors of it, and also of another treaty in 1244, between the same monarchs. He was killed at the siege of Damietta in 1248. He married Eupheme, second daughter of Walter, high steward of Scotland.

PATRICK DUNBAR, son of the preceeding, was the eighth earl. Taking a prominent and active part in Scotch politics, he stood with the English party. After the death of King Alexander III. he was one of the regents, and one of "the seven earls of Scotland," a body wholly distinct from the other estates of the kingdom. He died in 1289. He was the first to sign himself earl of March, which he did in 1248. He commanded the left wing of the Scottish army at Largs. He married Christiana Bruce, daughter of Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale. She founded "ane house of religione in ye toune of Dunbar."

PATRICK DUNBAR, son of the preceeding, was the ninth earl of Dunbar and also bore the title of earl of March. He was surnamed Blackbeard. He was a steadfast supporter of the English interests, in 1298 was King Edward's lieutenant in Scotland, and in 1300 was on the English side at the siege of Carlaverock. He married Marjory Comyn, daughter of Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, and as his wife sided with the Scottish party Dunbar was not always able to meet the demands of fealty to the English sovereign.

PATRICK DUNBAR, son of the preceeding, was the tenth earl. He was with his father at Carlaverock and after the battle of Bannockburn assisted King Edward III. to escape. Making peace with King Robert Bruce, he was appointed governor of Berwick castle and valiantly held that fortress against King Edward III. At the battle of Durham he commanded the left wing of the Scottish army. He died in 1369. He married Agnes, daughter of Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray. His countess, known in history as Black Agnes, was a grand-niece of King Robert Bruce. In January 1337-8, during a siege of nineteen weeks, she made a gallant and successful defence of the castle of Dunbar against the assault of the English led by the earl of Salisbury. This affair is memorable in Scottish annals and has been the subject of many a minstrel's song.

In an interpolated passage in Fordun's monumental work on early Scotland² is the following account of the origin of the name of SCRIMGEOUR.

2. "Scotochronicon," by John of Fordun.

“Early in the reign of King Alexander I, who ascended the Scottish throne in 1107, some of the men of Mearns and Moray assaulted the residence of his majesty, who escaped by the assistance of one of his bed chamber men, called Alexander Carron, through a private passage. The King raising forces went in pursuit of the rebels and came in sight of them on the other side of the Spey. The river was then high; but the King giving his standard to Carron, whom he knew to excel in courage and resolution, that brave officer crossed the Spey and planted the standard on the other side in sight of the rebels. The royal army followed, the adversaries taking to flight. In reward of the gallant service of Alexander Carron the King constituted him and his heirs heritable standard-bearers of Scotland; made him a grant of lands and conferred on him the name of Scrimgeour, signifying a hardy fighter.”

ALEXANDER SCRIMGEOUR, descended from Alexander Carron, the original holder of the name of Scrimgeour, was one of the most active and most valiant associates of William Wallace in that patriot's glorious attempt to restore the liberties of Scotland. When Wallace was constituted governor of Scotland, in recognition of the services of Scrimgeour he conferred upon him the constabulary of the castle of Dundee, giving this grant for his “faithful aid in bearing the banner of Scotland which service he actually performs.” This grant was dated at Torphichen March 29, 1298.

NICOLL SCRIMGEOUR, OF SKYRMESCHOUR, as the name is sometimes spelled in the records, son of the preceding, had from King Robert I. a charter of the office of standard-bearer and also grants of lands in the barony of Inverkeithing, forfeited by Roger Moubray.

ALEXANDER SCRIMGEOUR, son of the preceding, had a charter of lands near Dundee in 1357, and a letter of safe conduct into England in 1366. In a charter of 1378 by King Robert II. he is spoken of as constable of Dundee. He died in 1383.

SIR JOHN SCRIMGEOUR, son of the preceding, in several charters of his time by King Robert II. and King Robert III., also is mentioned as constable of Dundee. Among those who accompanied Alexander, earl of Mar, to Flanders, in the service of the duke of Burgundy in 1408 was:

“Schere James Seremgeoure of Dundee,
Comendit a famous Knight was he,
The Kingis banneoure of fe,
A lord that wele aucht lovit be.”³

He fought at the battle of Harlaw, July 24, 1411, under the same Alexander, earl of Mar, against Donald, lord of the Isles, and was there killed. The name of his wife was Egidia. He had a daughter Egidia who married James Maitland, second son of Sir Robert Maitland of Leithington.

SIR JOHN SCRIMGEOUR, son of the preceding, was also constable of Dundee. Previous to April, 1413, he was for many months a prisoner in the tower of London, presumably for political reasons. In 1444 he had a charter from Alexander, earl of Ross, lord of the Isles and baron of Kincardine, of lands in Kincardineshire. One of his daughters married Robert Bruce, second Baron of Culmalindie.

The earldom of GLOUCESTER was a foundation by King Henry I. of England. It dates from the early part of the twelfth century.

ROBERT, the first earl of Gloucester, was the son of King Henry I., and was born at Caen, France. Upon the occasion of his marriage his father gave to him large properties in Normandy, Wales, and England, so that he was one of the richest men of his time. Among these properties was the “honour of Gloucester” which the king formed into the earldom that afterwards became so distinguished. Robert was intimately associated with his father in all that monarch’s battling in Normandy and elsewhere. He was his father’s most beloved son, and was preferred far beyond any other member of the family.

He was the only child present at his father’s death, and following that event he was urged by his father’s followers and by others to lay claim to and contest the crown of England. But, without ambition in that direction, he declined the proffered honor, contenting himself with the earldom. His birth gave him unusual prominence and he could not keep entirely out of the rivalries and contests of the period. King Stephen especially

3. “Oryganale Cronykil of Scotland,” by Andrew Wyntoun.

disliked him, and quarreled with him frequently, but Robert succeeded in maintaining his independence and keeping himself aloof during the war that was waged against Stephen. Nevertheless he felt himself constrained to go to the assistance of his half-sister Matilda in Normandy in 1138.

Subsequently, in 1141, through King Stephen's warring against Matilda, he found himself drawn into that contest and was captured in the battle at Winchester at the same time that Stephen was captured by the opposing forces. The two warriors were exchanged for each other. He always championed the cause of his sister and was the main support of the Angevin party that was promoted by Geoffrey of Angevin, Matilda's second husband. He was a warrior, statesman, and scholar, and left a deep impress upon the age in which he lived. He died in Bristol, October 31, 1147. He married Mabel, or Matilda, or Sybil, daughter of Robert Fitz Hamon and had by her six children.

The ancient family of FITZ HAMON was derived from an ancestor, Richard Fitz Hamon, who was a son or nephew of Rollo, the first duke of Normandy. Its representatives were in Neustria from the very beginning of the invasion of that territory by the Normans, and they were possessed of important lordships in various parts of the country under the rule of the dukes of Normandy. The house was old and illustrious and had many distinctions long before the appearance of Robert Fitz Hamon in England.

Robert Fitz Hamon came from Normandy with William the Conqueror, and after the battle of Hastings settled in Kent where he became possessed of extensive lands. When the Normans pushed their way into Wales for the purpose of conquering that section of Britain this noble had a conspicuous and useful part in the campaign. He was really the leader in the invasion, and it was wholly due to his efforts that Glamorgan was conquered. So complete was his success that, with the approval of King William, he established himself in Wales permanently, beginning the construction at Cardiff, in 1080, of a castle which in after years and for many generations was the

seat of the family. It has been well said of him that he really founded in Wales a county palatinate. He added much to the possessions of Tewksbury Abbey and was called the second founder of that institution. He also endowed the monks with many titles and was especially liberal to the abbey of St. Paul's in Gloucestershire. Devoted to the cause of King William I, he was a close confidant of King William Rufus, King William's son and successor, until the death of the latter monarch. Then he attached himself to the cause of King Henry I, and was a stalwart defender of that king in all the difficulties that assailed his throne. At the siege of Calais he was wounded and as a result died in March 1107. He married Sybil of Montgomery.

WILLIAM, son of Robert, the first earl of Gloucester, by his wife Mabel Fitz Hamon, succeeded his father and became the second earl of Gloucester. He married Hawse, daughter of Robert, surnamed Bossu, earl of Leicester. He died in 1173, leaving no son, but three daughters, and with him the earldom of Gloucester in the male line of his family ceased.

AMICIA, daughter of the preceding, married Richard de Clare, and was the grandmother of Isabel de Clare who married Robert Bruce.

The HUNTINGDON family to which belonged David, earl of Huntingdon, whose daughter, Isabella of Huntingdon, married Robert Bruce, was of ancient Saxon origin as well as of the royal family of Scotland.

WALTHEOF, son of Syward the Saxon, who was earl of Northumberland, lived in the time of King William I. of England. He received from King William the earldoms of Huntingdon and Northampton, on the occasion of his marriage with Judith, daughter of a sister of King William on his Norman mother's side. Subsequently Waltheof disagreed with his royal uncle and took part in a conspiracy to expel him and the Normans from England. In this he was unsuccessful and in consequence thereof was beheaded in 1075.

MAUD, or MATILDA, daughter of Waltheof, married for her second husband, David, son of King Malcolm of Scotland, and

through her David became possessed of the earldoms of Huntingdon and Northumberland. Subsequently he became king of Scotland.

HENRY, son of the preceding, obtained from King Stephen of England the earldom of Huntingdon. He married Ada, sister of William, earl of Warren and Surrey.

DAVID, son of Prince Henry and great-grandson of Waltheof, first earl of Huntingdon, had by his wife, who was the daughter of Hugh, earl of Chester, Isabel who married Robert Bruce.

THE DE CLARE OR DE CLAIRE family which became connected with the house of Bruce was descended from Richard de Claire who came into England with William the Conqueror. Geoffrey, son of Richard I., duke of Normandy, was its ancestor. He had a son Giselbert, named Crispin, who was earl of Brion in Normandy. Dugdale gives this ancestry of Richard de Clare, although Hornby says that he was the son of Gilbert, officary earl of Auci or Owe in Normandy.

RICHARD DE CLARE received great honors and possessions from William the Conqueror. At the time of the survey he was called Richard de Tonebruge (Tonbridge), Kent, from the seat which he had established there. He had thirty-eight lordships in Surrey, thirty-five in Essex, three in Cambridge, and ninety-five in Sussex. Among other places that he owned was Benfield, in Northamptonshire, from which he was called Ricardus de Benefacta. From his manor in Suffolk he had the name of Richard de Clare. In a few years that became the seat of the family and heirs took the title of lords of Clare. It is said that he was killed by the Welsh while on a hostile expedition into that country. He married Rohesia, daughter of Walter Gifford, earl of Buckingham, and had six sons and two daughters. His son Richard de Clare, became Abbot of Ely, and his son, Robert de Clare, was steward of King Henry I. of England.

GILBERT DE CLARE, eldest son of the preceding, succeeded to the possession of his father's lands in England and resided at Tonebruge. He was engaged in rebellion against King William Rufus, but after a time became reconciled to that monarch. He married in 1113 Adeliza, daughter of the earl of Claremont and

had five sons and one daughter. His son, Gilbert de Clare, was earl of Pembroke, and had a son who became the celebrated Richard Strongbow and conquered Ireland.

RICHARD DE CLARE, eldest son of the preceding, established himself in Wales, and his family remained there for generations. He is said to have been the first to hold the title of earl of Hertford. He was killed by the Welsh in 1139. He married Alice, sister of Ramulph, second earl of Chester, and had two sons and one daughter. His son, Gilbert de Clare, became the second earl of Hertford, but died in 1151 without issue. His daughter, Alice de Clare, married Cadwalladerap-Griffith, who was a prince of North Wales.

ROGER DE CLARE, second son of the preceding, succeeded his brother, Gilbert de Clare, and became third earl of Hertford. From the king he obtained large grants of land in Wales, and built and fortified many castles there. In the tenth year of the reign of King Henry II., he was one of the earls present at the recognition of the ancient customs and liberties confirmed by his ancestors. For his works of piety he was surnamed "the good." He died in 1173. He married Maud, daughter of James de St. Hillary, and had one son.

RICHARD DE CLARE, son of the preceding, was the fourth earl of Hertford. He was one of the twenty-five barons who bound themselves to enforce the observance of Magna Charta. He died in 1218. He married Amicia, daughter of William, the second earl of Gloucester, and through his wife became possessed of that earldom.

GILBERT DE CLARE, son of the preceding, was the fifth earl of Hertford, and the first earl of Gloucester and Hertford jointly. He was one of the twenty-five barons who opposed the arbitrary proceedings of King John and upheld the Magna Charta. He was also prominent in the Barons' War and supported the cause of the dauphin Louis of France. At the battle of Lincoln in 1217 he was taken prisoner, but afterwards made his peace with the king. He died in 1230. He married Isabel, daughter of William Mareschal, earl of Pembroke. His youngest daughter, Isabel, married Robert Bruce.

The founder of the house of CARRICK of Scotland was Fergus, lord of Galloway, who married Elizabeth, daughter of King Henry I. At his death in 1161 he left two sons, Gilbert and Uchtred, between whom his lands were divided.

GILBERT, with his brother Uchtred, attended King William the Lion in the invasion of England in 1174, but subsequently sought the favor of King Henry II. In the same year he procured the assassination of his brother, and, although for some time he was held in royal disfavor on this account, he was received into the presence of King Henry two years later and was pardoned. Under the protection of the English monarch he carried war into Scotland in 1184, but before hostilities were concluded he died, in January 1185-6.

DUNCAN, son of the preceding, in the endeavor to heal the family difficulties, entered into an amicable conclusion with his cousin Roland, son of the murdered Uchtred. He was also a vassal of King William of Scotland, defended the district of ancient Galloway, and was confirmed in the possession of the territory of Carrick in 1186. Carrick was the southern-most of the three districts into which the county of Ayr was divided and gave title to the earldom. Duncan was created earl of Carrick by King Alexander II., founded the abbey of Crossramore, or Crossregal, for the Cluniac monks, and also endowed other monkish orders of Paisley and Melrose.

NIEL CARRICK, son of the preceding, followed the example of his father in acts of piety, making liberal gifts to the monasteries of Crossramore, or Crossregal, and of Sandale in Cantire. He was received under the protection of King Henry III. in 1255, and the same year was appointed one of the regents of Scotland and guardian of Alexander III. and that monarch's queen. He died June 13, 1256. He married Margaret, daughter of Walter, high steward of Scotland. His daughter Marjory (Carrick) de Kileuncath married the eighth Robert Bruce and, becoming countess of Carrick in her own right, brought to her husband and transmitted to her descendants the earldom of Carrick. This matrimonial alliance of the Bruces with the house of the high steward of Scotland was recalled several genera-

tions later when Marjory Bruce, daughter of King Robert Bruce, married Walter, the head of the house of Stewart of Scotland.

UCHTRED, the second son of Fergus, lord of Galloway, married Guinolda, who was the daughter of Waldeve of the Dunbar family. Waldeve was the grandson of Crinan, the founder of the noble house of Dunbar, and, succeeding his brother, Cospatrick, who died in 1139, had the barony of Allandale and other lands, maintaining his home at Cockermouth castle. He married Sigarith, a Saxon lady.

ROLAND of Galloway, son of the preceding, after the death of his uncle Gilbert who had murdered his father, defeated the vassals of Gilbert, slaying their commander Gilpatrick in July 1185. He finally came into possession of the whole of Galloway which he stubbornly held against all enemies. He married Elena Morville, daughter of Richard Morville, by whom he had several sons.

ALAN of Galloway, son of the preceding, had by his first wife, whose name is unknown, a daughter, Elena, who married Roger de Quincey, earl of Winchester. He married, second, in 1209, Margaret, the eldest daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, and had a son, Thomas, and two daughters, Christiana and Der-vorgill. The last named married John Baliol of Bernard Castle and had John Baliol, the competitor, who in 1292 was successful in prosecuting his claim to the throne of Scotland against Robert Bruce and other rivals. Thus a branch of the house of Carrick became associated with the fortunes of the Bruces in another and less agreeable way.

The DE BURGH family from which King Robert Bruce chose his second wife was originally of Ireland where it was of special distinction, being connected with one of the first royal houses of that land.

RICHARD DE BURGH, surnamed the Great Lord of Connaught, son of William FitzAdelm de Burgh, lord deputy of Ireland in the time of Hervig II., was also viceroy of that kingdom 1227-29. He built the castle of Galway in 1232 and died in 1243. He

married Una, or Agnes, daughter of Hugh O'Connor, king of Connaught, son of Cathal Crobhdearg, or the Red Hand.

WALTER DE BURGH, eldest son of the preceding, was lord of Connaught, and in right of his wife became earl of Ulster in 1243. He married Maud, daughter and heir of Hugh de Laci, earl of Ulster, and had four sons.

RICHARD DE BURGH, son of the preceding, was the second earl of Ulster. He was a great warrior and statesman, and commanded all the Irish forces in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Gascoigne. He founded the Carmelite monastery at Loughren and built the castles Ballymote, Carran, and Sligo. In his declining years he retired to the monastery of Athassail. He died June 28, 1326. He married Margaret de Burgo, daughter of John de Burgo, Baron of Lanville, who was a great-grandson of Hubert, earl of Kent. Elizabeth Aylmer de Burgh, daughter of Richard de Burgh and his wife Margaret de Burgh, was the second wife of King Robert Bruce.

WILLIAM DE WARRENNE, earl of Warrenne in Normandy, was a kinsman of William the Conqueror. He was among the Norman nobles at Hastings, and after the conquest of England received great honors from the king. He married Gundred, a daughter of William the Conqueror. Old-time authorities made this Gundred a daughter of William by his wife Matilda of Flanders. Recent investigations, however, conclusively show that she was the daughter of William by another wife.

WILLIAM DE WARRENNE, eldest son of the preceding, built the castle of Holt and founded the priory of Lewes in Sussex. He made his home principally in Lewes, although he had castles also in Norfolk and at Coningsburg and Sandal. Dugdale gives the following quaint account of his closing hours:

"It is reported that this Earl William did violently detain certain lands from the monks of Ely; for which being often admonished by the Abbot and not making restitution he died miserably. And though his death happened very far off the isle of Ely, the same night he died, the Abbot lying quietly in his bed, and meditating on heavenly things, heard the soul of this earl, in its carriage away by the devil, cry out loudly, and with a known and distinct voice; 'Lord have mercy on me. Lord

have mercy on me.' And moreover on the next day after the Abbot acquainted all the monks in chapel therewith. And likewise that about four days after there came a messenger to them from the wife of this earl, with one hundred shillings for the good of his soul, who told them that he died the very hour that the Abbot had heard the outcry. But that neither the Abbot nor any of the monks would receive it; not thinking it safe for them to take the money of a damned person. . . . If this part of the story, as to the Abbot's hearing the noise, be no truer than the last, viz., that his lady sent them one hundred shillings, I shall deem it to be a mere fiction, in regard the lady was certainly dead about three years before."

This William de Warrene joined Robert de Belesme, earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury in supporting Robert Curthose, son of King William I., against his brother King Henry I. The rebellion was short-lived, however, and subsequently William de Warrene was faithful to the cause of King Henry. He married Isabel, daughter of Henry the Great, earl of Vermandois, and widow of Robert, earl of Mellent. Adeline, his youngest daughter, married Prince Henry of Scotland, son of King David, and was the grandmother of Isabella de Huntingdon who married Robert Bruce.

The ELPHINSTON family derived its name from the lands of Elphinston in the vicinity of Edinburgh. It was famous among the barons of Scotland before the thirteenth century.

ALEXANDER DE ELPHINSTON acquired the land of Erthberg, county Stirling, from his mother Agnes de Erthberg.

ALEXANDER DE ELPHINSTON had a charter of lands from King David II. in 1362.

SIR WILLIAM DE ELPHINSTON had a charter of lands in 1399. He had three sons. His son Alexander de Elphinston was killed in a conflict with the English at Piperdean September 30, 1435. His son Henry de Elphinston succeeded him. His son William de Elphinston was the first earl of Blythswood in Larnarkshire, and married Mary Douglas. A younger son of William Elphinston and Mary Douglas was William Elphinston, bishop of Ross and Aberdeen, high chancellor of Scotland, and founder of the University of Aberdeen.

HENRY ELPHINSTON, second son of the preceding, was of Pittendreech, which he had under charter in 1477. He also held Erthberg, Strickshaw, and other honors. He had two sons, James and Andrew.

JAMES ELPHINSTON, son of the preceding, died before his father, having had two sons, John and Alexander.

SIR JOHN ELPHINSTON, eldest son of the preceding, had charter for the lands of Pittendreech, Erthberg, and Cragrossy. He had a charter of the barony of Erthberg, and in 1503 the honors of Chawmyrlane and Cragoroth were erected into a barony to be called Elphinston, the title of which was first conferred upon him.

ALEXANDER ELPHINSTON, son of the preceding, had numerous grants of lands and had the custody of the king's castle of Kildrummie in Aberdeenshire in 1508. He was raised to the peerage in 1509 as Alexander, lord Elphinston. He also had charters of lands in Fife, Stirlingshire, Banffshire, and elsewhere. He fell at Flodden Field, where he was fighting in support of James IV. on that fateful day in September, 1513. He married Elizabeth Barlow, a noble Englishwoman, who was maid of honor to Mary, queen of King James IV. His son, Alexander Elphinston, succeeded him. His daughter, Elizabeth Elphinston, married Sir David Somerville. His daughter, Eupheme Elphinston, was the mother of Robert Stewart, earl of Orkney, by King James V., and subsequently married John Bruce of Cultmalindie.

The ancient family of OLIPHANT was of Norman origin. Its first ancestors known in connection with English history were settled in Northamptonshire and held land there.

DAVID OLIFARD, or OLIPHANT, was the first bearer of the surname. He was intimately associated with King David I. of Scotland, who was his godfather. He befriended his royal master during the conspiracy of King Stephen, and was secretary of King David I. after the rout of the forces of Matilda at Winchester in 1141. He thereupon went to Scotland and was rewarded with lands. He was associated in charters with Duncan, earl of Fife; Ferteth, earl of Strathern; Gilbride, earl of

Angus; Malcolm, earl of Atholl; and others. He was justiciary of Scotland in 1165 under King David I., and also under King William the Lion. He died in 1170.

DAVID OLIFARD, eldest son of the preceding, succeeded his father in his estates and in the justiciary. He died toward the end of the twelfth century.

SIR WALTER OLIFARD, eldest son of the preceding, inherited the estates of his father and was justiciary under King Alexander II. He died in 1249. He married Christiana, daughter of the earl of Strathearn.

WALTER OLIFARD, son of the preceding, was also justiciary. He died after 1250.

SIR WILLIAM OLIPHANT of Aberdalgy, eldest son of the preceding, was a prominent figure in all the campaigning of King Robert Bruce for the throne of Scotland. About 1296, after the battles of Berwick and Dunbar, he was seized and held in prison until some time in the following year. In 1299 Stirling Castle, which had been fully garrisoned after the English had been driven out of it, was committed to his care. He held control of this fortress for years and skilfully defended it for three months against the determined siege of King Edward in 1304. Following the downfall of that fortress he was a prisoner for four years in the Tower of London. In 1311 he held Perth as a deputy for King Edward. At the siege of Perth by Robert Bruce he was taken prisoner and sent into banishment in the Western islands. After King Robert had fully established himself in the Kingdom, Oliphant came into favor, received grants of land, and was present at parliament in 1320 and in 1326. He died February 5, 1329.

SIR WALTER OLIPHANT of Aberdalgy, son of the preceding married Elizabeth, youngest daughter of King Robert Bruce.

WALTER OLIPHANT of Aberdalgy, son of the preceding, was a sheriff of Stirling and keeper of Stirling Castle in 1368. He married Mary Erskine, daughter of Sir Robert Erskine of Erskine.

SIR JOHN OLIPHANT of Aberdalgy, eldest son of the preceding, was knighted by King Robert II. He died about 1420. He

married, first, a daughter of Sir William Borthwick; second, a daughter of Sir Thomas Home.

SIR WILLIAM OLIPHANT of Aberdalgy, eldest son of the preceding by his first wife, was one of the hostages in England for the ransom of King James I. in 1424. He married Isabel Stewart, daughter of John Stewart of Innermeath, lord of Lorne.

SIR JOHN OLIPHANT of Aberdalgy, son of the preceding, was by his marriage drawn into the long existing feud between the Ogilvys and the Lindsays. In one of these family quarrels he was slain at Arbroath January 25, 1445-6. He married Isabel, daughter of Walter Ogilvy of Auchterhouse.

SIR LAURENCE OLIPHANT of Aberdalgy, eldest son of the preceding, was created a lord of parliament before 1467. He sat in the first parliament of King James IV. in 1488; was a privy councillor; a justiciary in 1490, and a peace commissioner to treat with England in 1491. He died about 1531. He married Isabel Hay, youngest daughter of William Hay, first earl of Errol.

SIR JOHN OLIPHANT, eldest son of the preceding, was the second lord Oliphant. Succeeding his father, he sat in parliament in 1503 and afterward. He died in 1516. He married Lady Elizabeth Campbell, third daughter of Colin Campbell, first duke of Argyle.

COLIN OLIPHANT, eldest son of the preceding, fought with his brother, William Oliphant, on the fatal field of Flodden in support of King James, both brothers being killed. He married Lady Elizabeth Keith, second daughter of William Keith, who was the third earl of Mareschal.

SIR LAURENCE OLIPHANT, son of the preceding, was the third lord Oliphant, succeeding to the title on the death of his grandfather in November, 1526. He took his seat in the Scottish parliament in 1526 and was a member in many subsequent years. He was a consistent opponent of the progress of the Reformation and was constantly in trouble on account thereof. At the rout of Solway he was captured by Dacre and Musgrave in November, 1542, was locked up in the Tower of London for some time but was ransomed the following year and returned to par-

liament. He died at Aldwick in Caithness March 26, 1566. He married Margaret Sandilands, eldest daughter of James Sandilands of Cruvie.

SIR LAURENCE OLIPHANT, eldest son of the preceding, was the fourth lord Oliphant. He was born in 1529 and succeeded to the title in 1566, having also the barony of Aberdalgy, Gask, and Galray. He joined the association in behalf of Queen Mary at Hamilton in 1568, and was always a devoted partisan of that queen. He was frequently in parliament and a conspicuous figure in all the politico-religious controversies and struggles of that period. He died in Caithness June 16, 1593, and was buried in the church of Wick. An old diary of that time contains this brief notice: "1593 January 16. Laurens. L. Oliphant diet in Kathnes, and buriet in the Kirk of Wik." He married in 1552 Lady Margaret Hay, second daughter of George Hay, seventh earl of Errol. His daughter, Jean Oliphant, married Alexander Bruce of Cultmalindie. Both she and her husband were direct descendants from King Robert Bruce, she in the eleventh generation and he in the tenth.

Bards and historians say that the predecessors of the house of CAMPBELL, which has been one of the most numerous and most powerful in Scotland, were lords of Lochow in Argyleshire as early as the year 404. The first appellation that they bore was O'Dwbin, or O'Dwin, a name that was assumed by Diarmed, a brave warrior. In Gaelic the descendants of this Diarmed are called Scol Diarmed or offspring of Diarmed. From Diarmed O'Dwbin followed a long series of barons of Lochow until the male line ended in Paul O'Dwbin, lord Lochow, called Inspuran because he was the king's treasurer.

GILLESPICK CAMPBELL, an Anglo-Norman of distinction, married the daughter of Paul O'Dwbin, lord Lochow.

DUNCAN CAMPBELL of Lochow lived in the reign of King Malcolm IV.

COLIN CAMPBELL of Lochow was a subject of King William the Lion in the latter part of the twelfth century.

GILLESPICK or ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL of Lochow lived in the

reign of King Alexander I. He married Finetta, daughter of John Fraser, lord of Tweeddale.

DUNCAN CAMPBELL of Lochow was also living in the reign of King Alexander I. He married a daughter of the house of Comyn. His son, John Campbell (1250-86), was a famous author.

SIR GILLESPICK or ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL of Lochow, the eldest son of the preceding, was living in the reign of King Alexander III., and married a daughter of William de Somerville, baron of Carnwath.

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL was so successful as a soldier that he was named More or Great. From him the chiefs of this family have ever since been styled MacCalan More. He was knighted in 1280 by King Alexander III. He married a daughter of the house of Sinclair.

SIR NIEL CAMPBELL of Lochow, the eldest son of the preceding, was knighted by King Alexander III. He early allied himself to the fortunes of King Robert Bruce, and adhered to that monarch through prosperity and adversity. After the battle of Bannockburn he was one of the commissioners sent to York in 1314 to negotiate a peace with England. He was among the great barons who sat in the parliament at Ayr in 1315. He died in 1316. He married Lady Mary Bruce, a sister of King Robert Bruce.

In subsequent generations the descendants of this Sir Niel Campbell ranked among the most distinguished people of Scotland. His descendant, Sir Duncan Campbell, first assumed the title of Duke of Argyle, and other titles were also borne by representatives of the name. Descendants of King Robert Bruce several generations later married and intermarried with the family.

(To be Continued.)

LETTER OF LORD NAPIER

CONTRIBUTED BY DUANE MOWRY

THE letter which follows was written by the late Lord Napier when connected with Her Britannic Majesty's Legation in Washington. It is of real interest because it bears upon a point in diplomacy as well as of international etiquette, and was conducted by a master hand. The original of the letter is in the possession of the writer in trust for the heirs of the late Judge James Rood Doolittle, for twelve years United States senator from Wisconsin. The letter is written in the clear, bold hand of the author; not a word is re-written, modified or corrected. While the letter has little historical significance, the fame of the author gives it undoubted value.

Private.

Her Britannic Majesty's
Legation February 27th
1858

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th Instant recommending the case of William Whipple to the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

I regret extremely that on the grounds stated in the documents accompanying your letter I cannot submit this claim to the Earl of Clarendon. Had the relatives of the person in question proceeded on the plea of his youth, his inexperience, and his domestic ties, nothing would have given me greater pleasure than to promote his release from the British service and his return to his Country and family. But the grounds alleged are very different and such as I cannot in justice to my government admit.

The gentleman who addresses you states that Whipple was "enticed away" and "fraudulently carried out of the Country."

The affidavit of Ira Whipple affirms that his brother was "induced through falsehood to go aboard a recruiting vessel" at New Orleans, and that 40 other Americans were "decoyed" in the same way. It is moreover alleged that through "methodical villainy" of the same parties Whipple, being partly intoxicated enlisted in the British Service. It is not clearly intimated by whose instigation these proceedings against Whipple and his forty companions were carried on, but I may not unnaturally infer that Her Majesty's Gov't are aimed at. Now as Her Majesty's Gov't have never employed any recruiting vessel at New Orleans, and do not induce or inveigle persons into the Army when intoxicated, I apprehend that in the letter of your correspondent, and in the affidavit, there is some strange delusion or want of veracity. At least I cannot advise the British Gov't to discharge a soldier because he was inveigled into the service. Such a thing cannot occur, and if it did or could the case would deserve to be dealt with in another manner. I return you the papers (of which I have kept copies) and I beg you will lay before your correspondent the propriety of addressing you a letter simply stating the hardship of the case, the rashness of the man in enlisting, his regrets, and the claims of his deserted wife and family, omitting entirely the tale of seduction and fraudulent persuasion. Such a statement it will give me much gratification to forward to Her Majesty's government who would, no doubt, grant it Her benevolent attention both on account of the family of Whipple, and in consideration of your wishes.

I have the honor to be,

Sir, your most obedient

faithful servant

NAPIER

The Hon'bl Senator Doolittle

&c &c &c.

ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF HERALDRY

VII

CONTINUATION OF THE CONSIDERATION OF ANIMALS USED IN HERALDRY, THEIR ORIGIN AND THE SENTIMENTS WHICH ARE REPRESENTED BY THEM

BY HENRY WHITTEMORE

IN armories the proper position of the griffin is rampant or salient, and they are sometimes said by the English to be segreant—erect with wings endorsed, ready for action. Those of the name of Lauder, Lawder, or Lauther, differ according to the customs of ancient times, for the name is local from the town and lands of Lauder; that is, lower than the hills that surmount it. One of this family accompanied David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of King William the Lion, to the Holy War; to perpetuate which, some of his descendants made the griffin to hold a sword by his fore foot, supporting a Saracen's head proper. From this family was descended Allen Lauder, who got a charter of the lands at Whitlade and Moriston, in the shire of Berwick, from Robert earl of Stratheon, with the consent of John, his eldest son and heir, both afterwards kings, by the names of Robert II. and Robert III. This Allen Lauder was afterwards designated of Halton, as in a charter granted by King Robert II. of the lands of Ratho in the shire of Mid-Lothian, *anno regni, quo*, of whom were descended the Lauders of Hattoun. The arms of this family were; argent, a griffin, segreant, sable, beaked and membered gules, holding a sword with the dexter claw, supporting a Saracen's head proper; crest,—a tower with a demi griffin issuing out of the top; motto, —strike alike.

The principal family of this name are the descendants of Sir John Louder of Fountainhall in East Lothian, baronet, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, who carried; arms,—

gules, a griffin rampant within a bordure argent; crest,—a tower, argent, masoned sable, with the portcullis down; on the top of the embattlement a man in watching position; supporters, —two lions rampant argent, standing on a compartment on which are the words, *Ut nugsaturis habita*.

So recorded in the Lyon Register as descended from Lauder of that Ilk, the above arms were conformed to those of his progenitors, cut upon gravestones of old dates, which are preserved by the descendants of Sir John, lineally descended from Andrew Lauder, a son of Robert Lauder of that Ilk, of Lauder-Tower, and his wife, Elizabeth Ballinden, daughter of Ballinden of Lasswade. This Robert Lauder had three sons, the two eldest of whom were cut off, with many of their relatives in a plea, by the Home and Cranstons in the minority of King James VI.; but the youngest surviving son, Andrew, retired to his mother's friends and married Janet, daughter of David Ramsey, of Polton, descended from the family of Dalhousie.

Forsyth, of that ilk, carries arms, argent, a chevron engrailed gules between three griffins rampant, azure, armed and numbered sable, and crowned, or. For the antiquity of the name there is a charter in the earl of Haddington's Collections, granted by King Robert the Bruce *Osberto filo Roberte de Forsyth, servians noster* of an hundred solidatis terrae in teneaments de Salekill, in the shereffdom of Stirling.

The griffin has been of old frequent in the arms of many families in England. Sanford says that the armorial seal of Richard Riparis, or Rivirs, earl of Devon and the Isle of Wight, who died in 1162, carried arms, gules, or griffin segreant or. The Griffin family of Wales carry arms,—gules on a fesse between three lozenges or, each charged with a fleur-de-lis of the first, a demi rose between two griffins segreant, of the field.

BUNTEN BIRDS were carried as relative to the name of Buntin, or Bunting of Ardoch, viz, argent, a bend gules between three buntin birds proper; and for crest, another of the same standing on a garb, all proper, with the mottos, *Capiase et opportune*.

WINGS OF BIRDS in armories are said to denote protection, and are either single or double, that is one or two; but when one, it is

called a *demi orle*, as those carried by the name of Falconer, gules three *demi orles* (or lures) or two and one. When two wings are joined together they are called *orle*, or two wings in lure, as those of the arms of Seymour, duke of Somerset. Wings conjoined are wings expanded, elevated and united at the bottom.

FEATHERS OF BIRDS are sometimes used in armorial figures, especially those of the ostrich, by the royal family of England. Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, had an escutcheon sable, charged with three ostrich feathers argent, surrounded with the garter and supported by a greyhound and antelope. Ashmole in his "Institution of the Garter" says that "these three ostrich feathers were the badge of King Henry IV. of England, which that king had from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, his father, who bore them for his device and placed them in a field sable, but the pens of the feathers were powdered with ermine.

These ostrich feathers carried by the royal family of England, were all white, distinguished by their pens, the king's were or; the prince's argent; the duke of Lancaster, ermine, and the duke of Somerset *componé* argent, and azure. By which it is to be observed (being of one body) they used formal differences as in coats of arms.

OF FISHES INCLUDING SHELLS, ETC

By most heralds these are considered as inferior to animals but are suitable marks for military men, to indicate prowess, valor, fortitude. Few sovereigns and princes have fishes in their arms except they be relative to their names or the product of their territories, but as all are figures of equal dignity, the bearers of them are approved of by royal authority. They are likewise carried to represent some notable event, jurisdiction and right of fishing, and frequently as relative to the names of the bearers. Fishes are used in these, as in other sciences, as emblems of industry and vigilancy, for they swim against the streams and waves, and are said never to sleep. In this they have several terms of blazon appropriate to them according to their position and parts.

When fishes are carried pale-ways, they are said to be *haurient*; when they are placed transverse the shield horizontally, that is fesse-ways, they are *naiant*—that is, swimming; when they are placed back to back, *adosse* and when face, *affronte*; when they are laid one above the other alternately, they are said to be fretted; when their fins are of a different tincture from their bodies, they are said to be finned, and by the French *bore* of such tinctures; when their eyes are sparkling, *allumé*; when their martlets are open, *fame* or *pasme*; and when they are feeding, the English say, devouring.

THE DOLPHIN is taken for the king of fishes (as the lion and eagle are said to be sovereigns of beasts and birds) for his strength and swiftness in the pursuit of other fishes of his prey. He is said to be an admirer of men, so as to be human: and a lover of music, for which he is often used in armor and devices. Ulysses is said to have carried the dolphin in his shield. His words are: "*Significabat se animalis ejus dotes maxime sequi velli quod simul et humanitate et musices amore et mira celebrati exteris prestaret omnibus vel mari vitam degentibus.*" Hopingeus says that Ulysses carried the dolphin on his shield and signet ring, on account of that creature's humanity for saving his son, Telemachus, when he fell into the sea.

The dauphin of France had the dolphin as a lover of music placed on the frontispiece of the old books which were dedicated to him with the words, *trabitar dulcidene cantees*. The name dauphin applied to the oldest son of the king of France, was derived from the dauphinate, a territory of old France, so named from its lords and princes called dauphins, who carried for their arms a dolphin relative to their name. Mezeray in his "History of France," in the life of Philip VI., says that Humbert, dauphin de Viennois, being feeble in body, and having no children, in odium to the duke of Savoy, who invaded his country, made a donation thereof in the year 1343, to King Philip, of France, of the dauphinate and other lands adjoining, which were incorporate with France forever upon condition that the kings of France, their eldest son and apparent heir, should enjoy them. Ever since, the eldest sons of France have

used the title of dauphin, and their arms have been marshalled with those of France; second and third or, a dolphin embowed breathing, azure, eared and barbed gules; the French say: *d'or au dauphin vif d'azure orielle and creste de gacules*.

The courts of the dauphinate D'Auvergne, a province of France, carry arms, azure *seme* of *fleurs-de-lis*, or; a bend of the last charged on the top with a dolphin azure, crested and eared argent.

William Moneypenny, Lord Moneypenny, who is found in the rolls of parliament in the reign of King James II., carried azure, quarterly, first and fourth or, a dolphin azure, finned, gules, for Moneypenny; second and third gules three cross-crosslets fitched, issuing out of as many crescents, argent. Some conjecture that upon the similitude of arms the Moneypennys were originally from the dauphinites of France.

BARBLE—There is a fish frequent in arms called by the English barble, and by the French *bar*; this is carried also embowed as the dolphin; and when in arms there are two of them they are placed ordinarily back to back, for which the English say endorsed, and the French *adosse*. The duchy of Barr in France, carries, in allusion to the name, azure, *seme* of cross crosslets fitched at the foot or, two bars (or barbles), endorsed of the last, teeth and eyes argent.

SALMON—This fish is often made use of in armories and in a general way relative to the name. Thus, the name of Fish gives azure, three salmon *naiant*, fesse-ways in pale argent, one above the other, of which the French says *l'un sur lautre*.

The city of Glasgow, Scotland, carries argent, an oak tree growing out of a mount in base, with a bird standing on the top thereof, and a bill hanging on a branch on the sinister side, and in base a salmon with a ring in its mouth, all proper. These arms perpetuate the story of a miracle said to have been wrought by St. Mungo, that city's parent saint, in recovering by a salmon, in its mouth, the ring of a lady out of the water Clyde where she accidentally dropped it; which on being recovered prevented the jealousy of her husband.

ESCALLOP—There is probably nothing of the fish species carried so often in armory as that of the escallop, and they are

frequent in armorial figures it is said in every part of Europe, on account of the symbolical and lineroglyphical significations which have been given to them. Salter, an English writer, says that in the records of the Office-at-Arms in London the escallop signifies that the first of a family who carried this device, had been a commander, and for his virtues and valor had gained the hearts and love of his companions and soldiers. The Italian, Sylvester Petra Sancta, in his "Treatise," commends them as coffers of the riches of the sea, and calls them *scrinia colorum atque gemmarum*. Others, again look upon them as fit badges of the inviolable fidelity, for reason that the shells of the escallop or coquel, are married by nature in pairs; and that when they separate they can never be matched again to join with others; for which they have been chosen by sover-



Escallop.



Chevronels Brames.

eigns and others as opposite badges of fraternity of several orders of knighthood and other societies. Also for many ages they have been the badges and marks of pilgrims in their expeditions and pilgrimages to holy places, and of such a distinguishing character and mark, that Pope Alexander IX., by a bull, discharged the giving the use of them except to pilgrims who were truly noble; as Ashmole, in "The Institution of the Garter," observes (chap. II, sec. 5); where also he gives several instances of the escallops adorning the orders of knighthood, as that called the Order of St. James in Galicia, instituted in the year 857, had for its ensign a red cross in a white field cantoned with four escallops.

The escallop or coquet was so much esteemed in France that St. Louis, when in the year 1269 he instituted the noble Order

of the Sheep, upon the expedition into Africa, adorned the collar of that order with escallops of gold interlaced with double crescents of silver. Louis XI., of France, when he, in the year 1469, instituted the Order of Stillichel, he composed the collar with escallops of gold joined one with another, fastened to a small chain or mails of gold.

The escallop or coquet, with the French are all one; but when they want ears the French call them *vannets*. The English make no distinction and use only the term escallop.

Odericus Vitalis, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, states in his "Ecclesiastical History," that Pilras de Mandia, lord of that place, gave to St. Ebroulfe and the monks of Utica the churches of St. Mary, St. Germain and St. Vincent, *in villa qua nuncupatur Manlia, anno 1076*, and after his death was buried in the monk's cloister.

In the middle of the village of Manle are yet standing the ruins of the old castle, and on the gate are the arms of the family cut in stone, being parted per pale bordure of eight escallops. And on the church, within the choir, and near the high altar, where the lords of this place lie buried, they are again painted on boards quartered with the arms of Moranvilliers; being parted per pale, argent and gules, a bordure charged with eight escallops, all counterchanged of the same. There is also on these boards, a long succession of their names, with those of the Moranvilliers, with the dates of their marriages, deaths and burials, with inscriptions.

This lordship came at length from the Moranvilliers to the Harlays of Simay by marriage; of whom are descended a number of great families in France. Afterward it passed through several hands, and later was acquired by one Monsieur de Longiviere, being descended to his heirs in succession. About half a league from this stands the old castle of Panmure, belonging to the lords of this place, as may be seen on the maps of the Isle of France done in the year 1711 by William de l'Isle, geographer to the French king.

Sir Peter de Manle, grand-nephew and heir male of the family, in the beginning of the reign of King Alexander II., married Christina de Valoniis, daughter and sole heir of Sir Will-

iam de Valoniis, and grandchild of Philip de Valoniis, both of them successively great chamberlains of Scotland. By her he had the lordship of Panmure and Benvie, and he succeeded Sir William Manle.

The family of Panmure, through marriage, have the right to carry the arms of the lord of Brechin, and quarter them with their paternal thus: quarterly, first parted per pale, argent and gules, a bordure charged with eight escallops all counterchanged of the same for Manle; second, argent, three pallets waved, gules for the Valoniis; third quarter, quarterly first and fourth azure, a chevron between three crosses *fatees* argent; second and third or, three piles issuing from the chief conjoined by the points in base, gules, for Barclay, Lord Brechin.

Escallops are the proper figure of those of the surname of Pringle, whose first ancestor is said to have been one Pcterin, a famous pilgrim of the holy land, who settled in Scotland and whose descendants were called at first, Pilgrims, and afterwards, by corruption, Pringles. The most ancient of the family is Hop Pringle, of that ilk, designed of Tevioldale, where the name is most numerous; and these carry argent on a bend sable three escallops or; crest, an escallop as the former.

OF VEGETABLES, TREES, PLANTS, HERBS, ETC., AND THEIR USE IN ARMS

Vegetables, including trees, plants, flowers, herbs, fruits, etc., are borne in arms not only as symbolical, but as badges and marks of the countries and lands where they are most abundant, are carried upon arms on account of the fact that their names have relation to those of the bearers. These things have proper terms in blazon as other charges according to their position, disposition and situation in the shield.

THE OAK TREE is said to represent antiquity and strength; the olive tree, peace; the vines, joy; the fig, sweetness and tranquility; the apple tree, love; the palm, conjugal love, etc., which are to be considered more properly in emblems and devices than in armor.

With the McGregors, because their lands were overspread with the fir tree, carried for arms, argent, a fir tree, growing out of a mount in base, vert, surmounted by a sword bendways, supporting by its point an imperial crown proper in the dexter chief canton to perpetuate a special service done by them to the crown.

Those of the surname of Wood, in old evidents and anciently named with that of the Basco, which signifies the same, carry trees relative to the names. In a charter of King William to the town of Inverness, in the second year of the king's reign, William de Basco, cancellarius regis, and Hugh de Basco are witnesses.

Wood of Bennyton, the principal family of that name carried, azure, an oak tree growing out of a mount in base proper between two cross-crosslets *fitchee* or; the last being a part of the arms of Tulloch of Bennyton, which the family carried for marrying the heiress with whom the lands came.

* Sir John Wood, of Bennytong, baronet, carried the same arms recorded in New Register, with the badge of Nova Scotia, as baronet; and for crest, a savage from the loins upwards, holding a club erect in his right hand and wreathed about the head and middle with laurel proper; for supporters, two savages, each having a baton erect in their hands, and wreathed about the head and middle as the former.

Wood, of Balbigro, had azure, an oak tree growing out of a mount in base or, and in one of its branches are fastened two keys, azure, by strap.

Wood, of Largo, had azure, a tree growing out of a mount in base or, between two ships under sail argent, as admiral to King James II. and King James IV., under whose reigns he defeated the English at sea. King James III. gave to Andrew Wood, master of her majesty's Yellow Kerril, the lands of Largo, and in the year 1482 he got a grant of them hereditably and inredeemably, whose issue male continued in possession of the lands of Largo until the reign of King Charles I. John Wood, a cadet of Largo, founded a hospital for fifteen old men in the reign of King Charles II. near to the line of Largo.

Those whose names end with wood, as Spottswood, Calder-

wood, Carrewood, Showerswood, Blackwood, carry trees or branches of them relative to the name.

Spottswood of that ilk, a good old family in the shire of Berwick, carried argent on a chevron gules between three oak trees, eradicate, vert, a boar's head coupé of the field.

Calderwood, of Picadee, carried argent, a palm tree growing out of a mount, in base proper, surmounted by a saltire gules, and on a chief azure, three mullets of the first; crest, a hand holding a bunch of palm proper.

Watson, of Saughton, in the shire of Midlothian had argent, an oak tree, growing out of a mount in base proper; surmounted by a fesse azure; crest, two hands issuing out of a cloud fesse-ways, holding the trunk of an oak pale-ways, with branches spreading forth.

Wilkinham, of that ilk, carried argent upon a mount, a grove of first, proper; crest, a dove with an olive branch in its beak. Supporters, two foresters in long gowns, to show that their progenitors were foresters to the high stewards of Scotland.

Mr. William Arkman, of Cairny, advocate and representative of the Arkmans of Lorihen, an old family in Angus, carried argent, a sinister hand in base issuing out of a cloud fesse-ways, holding an oak tree pale-ways proper, with a branch sprouting out of the top thereof, surmounted by a bend engrailed gules; crest, an oak tree proper.

The name of Lothian carries argent on a mount in base proper, a pine tree vert, a talbot tied thereto proper; and, upon one of the branches a bugle pendant of the second; which arms, within a bordure vert are recorded for Richard Lothian, merchant in Edinburgh; and for crest, a bugle or hunting horn.

In England many families carry trees relative to their names as Pyriton and Pine who carry pear and pine trees.

THE BROOM-PLANT was the badge and ancient device of the Plantaganet earl of Anjou, father of King Henry II. by his wife Maud, the empress, daughter and heiress of King Henry I. He did not carry the carbuncle as the armorial figure of his father, Anjou, but the figure of England with the broom-plant for his device, as did also his son Richard I., of England, who adorned his helmet with that plant instead of a crest, as upon his seal of arm.

Henry Plantaganet, son of Geoffrey, count of Anjou, by Matilda, queen of England, succeeded Stephen, as King Henry II. This surname of Plantaganet came from his father, who, having committed a crime, punished himself by flagellation with birches of plantagenet, or green broom. Hence, as stated, that count wore a branch of it on his helmet as a sign of his humility or penance. This branch being marshalled with the arms of Angiers, the capitol of Anjou was introduced into the royal escutcheon of England by King Henry II., the Plantaganet.

EARS OF CORN—These, said to represent plenty, are carried in arms in relation to the names of the bearers. Their stalks are either coupéd or slipped, or eradicate, and when with leaves they are said to be bladed.

The name of Riddell carried, argent, a chevron gules between three ears of rye stripped and bladed vert.

Walter Riddell, of Menti, carried argent a chevron engrailed, gules between three ears of rye stripped and bladed vert; crest, a dexter hand proper, holding an ear of rye stripped and bladed vert; crest, a dexter hand proper, holding an ear of rye stripped and bladed or.

Ears of corn, when they are bound up in sheaves are called *garbs*, and when their bandings are of another tincture, they are said to be banded of such. *Garb*, or *jarb* is a French word for bundles of any kind of grain, called by Latins *facis pumentarius*, and by some *manipulas*. Imhoff, in his blazons for shields, sheaves and garbs has the word *mergetes*; as in that of Sheffield, earl of Mulgrave, later, duke of Buckingham and Normandy, viz.: argent, a chevron between three garbs gules, relative to the name of Sheffield.

The surname of Cuming carried relative to the name, azure, three garbs of cuming or. There were many eminent families of this name in Scotland, the first of whom was John Cuming, who for his singular valor and other good qualities got several lands from King David I., and in the reigns of King Malcom and King William, the name of Cuming, John, son of Richard, is frequently to be met with in charters, as also that of his son William Cuming, who was created earl of Buchan, and made justiciary of Scotland by King William. Those of the name of



Cuming became very numerous and forceful, but most of the families were driven out of Scotland for submitting to the English, and taking part with the Baliols against the Bruces.

The name of Whiteford had, argent a bend between two cotises sable, accompanied with two garbs gules. The first of the family was Walter de Whiteford, who, for his good services done at the battle of Largs, in the reign of King Alexander III., under the command of Alexander, seneschal, high steward of Scotland, got the lands of Whiteford, near Paisley, in the shire of Renfrew. There is a tradition that one of the heads of the family who stood firm for his country in the time of King Robert Bruce against the English, surprised a party of English who were long encamped on the opposite side of the river Dart, by a stratagem of putting great quantities of sheaves of wheat and other grain into the water; and to perpetuate this signal overthrow of them, they carry in their arms the wheat sheaves.

Kelso, of Kelsoland, carried sable a fesse engrailed between three garbs or, confirmed in 1636, as marked in a book of old blazon. John Kelso, of Kelsoland, with the consent of his father, mortifies to the abbot and coronet of Paulsing the lands of Langlebank between the town of Largs and Kelsoland in the year 1399; from him was descended Archibald Kelso, of Kelsoland, who married a daughter of Steward of Bladthall in the reign of King James VI.

The name of Yule comes gules a garb or, between three crescents argent.

In England many families carry garbs, as William Hatton, viscount Hatton: azure, a chevron between three garbs or.

FLOWERS, LEAVES, ETC., THEIR HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE AS APPLIED TO HERALDRY AND THE SENTIMENTS THEY EXPRESS

The use of flowers as emblems and devices, on account of their beauty and the sentiments expressed by them, existed at a very early date. They are among the first designs made use of in heraldry; they have also served as national emblems in various countries.

THE THISTLE—This, the most ancient badge of Scotland, sig-

nifies courage, determination and tenacity of purpose as implied in the motto *Nemo me impune lacessit*. (No one provokes me with impunity.) It has for many ages been the ensign of the most ancient and noble Order of St. Andrew, known also as the Order of the Thistle. Its growth is abundant in that country and the very nature of it seems to express the characteristics of the people.

The thistle, as a part of the royal achievement of Scotland, has been in use to be granted by Scottish kings as additional honor to well deserving subjects, notably to Kerth, earl of Kentore, a part of whose armorial bearings are: supporters—two chevaliers in armor, each holding in his exterior hand the banner of Scotland, with the motto, *pro rege et patria*. The thistle also embraces a part of the arms granted to Sir Hugh Harris, of Cousland, and to Sir George Oglevie and Sir George Oglevie, of Barras.

THE ROSE—This beautiful flower is significant as having been the device adopted by two royal factions. The rose of England was first publicly assumed as devices by the sons of King Edward III., viz.: John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who adopted the red rose for the badge of his family, and his brother Edward, who was created duke of York in 1385, and took a white rose for his device: "which the fantors and followers of them and their heirs," says Nesbit, "did afterwards beat for distinction in that bloody war between the two houses of York and Lancaster."

"These ducal ups and downs gradually separated the whole nation into the two parties of York and Lancaster, and led up to those terrible civil wars long known as the war of the white and red roses, because the red rose was the badge of the House of Lancaster and the white rose was the badge of the House of York." The facts relating to the origin of this difficulty which separated friends and neighbors, parents and children are briefly told in the following:

Richard, duke of York, protector of the realm, claimed the crown from the house of Lancaster, which had been usurped by Henry IV., grandfather of Henry VI., then on the throne of England. From that time, the nation had been divided into

two camps of enemies, distinguished by the devices of the two chiefs York and Lancaster. The red rose being assumed as a badge of sanguinary vengeance by the Lancastrians, the party of York adopted the white rose as a symbol of innocence of legitimacy, Richard, duke of York, being descended from Lionel, the second son of Edward III., whilst Henry, duke of Lancaster, issued from John of Gaunt, the third son. The first battle between the two roses took place at St. Alban, in 1455.

These two roses were called sisters, cousins, or rivals, on account of the chiefs of the two factions descending from two brothers. The streamer of the Yorkists bore the sign of a sun, embroidered with gold framed by roses of silver. The two families were finally united by Henry VIII., the one male heir of the House of Lancaster, in marrying Princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter and heiress of Edward IV. of this House of York, in 1486; the two roses were united in one which became the royal badge of England.

King John I., of Great Britain, was the first who adorned the compartment of his achievement wherein the supporters stand, with a thistle vert, flowered gules, issuing out of the right side and out of the left, a rose gules, stalked and leaved vert; the badges of the two kingdoms; that of England being altogether red to show that the right of Lancaster was better than that of York in the person of King Henry VII.

Roses, when they are represented in arms with stalks and leaves in blazon, are said to be stalked and leaved of such tincture. When the breast of the rose is of a different tincture from the body, they are said to be seeded and leaved of such tincture, and the French say *tigees* and *feuilles*. When the heart of the rose is of a different tincture from the body it is seeded.

The custom of the Pope's blessing of roses, and other flowers, has occasioned the bearing of such in arms as those are in the bearing of Grenovle. Many carry roses as relative to their names as the house of Rosenpan, in Denmark, who charges their chevron with three roses.

The town of Montrose, a burgh-royal, as relative to the name carried roses; argent a rose gules, with helmet, mantling an

wreath, suitable thereto; crest, a hand issuing from a cloud and reaching down a garland of roses proper; supporters, two mermaids rising from the sea.

David Lindsay, earl of Crawford, being the first that was honored with title and dignity of duke of Montrose for life, in the reign of King James III., took as an addition to his arms an escutcheon argent charged with three roses gules. This he carried by way of surtout over his own arms. William, lord Graham, when first dignified with the title of earl Montrose, quartered with his own, argent, three roses gules for Montrose; and the family being afterwards raised to the high titles of marquis and duke of Montrose, carried the same arms.

In Scotland the name of Penrose is universally relative to their name, carrying primroses, viz.: argent on a fesse azure three primroses gules, as many mullets or.

Dr. Gilbert Primrose, mentioned by Echard in his "History of England," was among the eminent men who died in 1642, and was particularly recommended by the king himself to the University of Oxford for his great worth and learning; and afterwards by the same king, he was made a canon of Windsor. Dr. James Primrose, his son, was an eminent physician. Archibald Primrose, son of Duncan Primrose, who descended from the Primroses of that ilk, acquired lands of Burnbree from abbacy of Culross, and had two sons. James Primrose, the eldest son, was principal clerk of the privy council of Scotland in the reign of King James VI. Archibald Primrose, the second son, was knighted by King Charles II. in 1651. And on that king's restoration he was made lord register and one of the senators of the college of justice.

The achievements of Sir Archibald Primrose, of Carrington, had arms, or, a lion rampant vert and langued gules (being a concession by King Charles II. to him for his loyalty.) surmounting a fesse purpure charged with three primroses of the field: crest, a demi-lion gules, holding forth in his dexter paw a primrose proper.

Sir Archibald Primrose, grandson of the above, was, in the year 1700, advanced to the dignity and title of viscount Roseberry, and afterwards raised to the honor of earl Roseberry in

the year 1703. He married Dorothy, daughter and heir of Everingham Cressy, of Berking, in the county of York by whom he had issue. After he was dignified he used other arms, viz.: or, three primroses, within a double treasure, flowered and counterflowered gules; supporters, two lions vert; crest, a demi lion gules holding in his dexter a primrose gules.

The Roosevelt family, of Holland, relative to the name, bore: arms, argent on a mount vert, a rose bush with three roses proper; crest, three ostrich feathers per pale gules and argent; motto, *Qui plantavit curabit* (the one who planted it will take care of it). Claes Martensen Van Roosevelt, meaning Nicholas, the son of Martin, of the Rosefield, who emigrated to America from Holland in 1654 was the founder of the American family of the name, the ancestor of President Theodore Roosevelt.

(To be Continued.)



Abraham Lincoln

Historical Collection of Manuscripts



The American Society
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AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

LYMAN HORACE WEEKS, Editor

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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NO. 2

THE LITERATURE OF COLONIAL VIRGINIA

BY CARL HOLLIDAY

II

(1676-1750)

IN the years immediately preceding 1676—perhaps for a decade—there was a decided dearth of literary work of any sort in the Virginia colony. In New England there had been already a crude but virile beginning in such highly edifying efforts as the “Bay Psalm Book” and Michael Wigglesworth’s “Day of Doom,” (1662). What was the reason for this early contrast? The answer is not difficult to find. Two characteristics of the Southern colony—the one economic, the other educational—were apparently threatening the intellectual life of the people. It has frequently been noted that the units of society in the two sections were very different; that in the North the people, through necessity, chose the close, densely populated community, the township, the village, and the city, while in the South the county became the measure of government, and the county court house often times the one center of interest in a wide area. It must be admitted that the New England environment, resulting from the compact form of settlement, no matter what its effects on the moral and physical well-being, was undoubtedly more stimulating to the intellectual life.

“The manor system of the South discouraged manufactures, prevented united municipal endeavors, and created a spirit of reluctance toward accepting new movements. Rank was based largely on possession of land. Extensive, but not intensive, agriculture wrought havoc to both soil and perseverance, and sowed the seed of a characteristic Southern form of poverty known as ‘land-poor.’ Such training destroyed here the very

(III)

kind of shrewdness and far seeing business ability which the New Englander was so rapidly gaining.

"Now, as a result of this system, there undoubtedly existed an admirable degree of domestic felicity, but, at the same time, too much individual independence and a consequent lack of co-operation in culture movements. The New England system was far more likely to cause greater consideration for the opinions of others, while that of Virginia just as certainly presented the danger of nourishing an intolerance born of ignorant egotism. In short, the social structure, a sort of modernized feudal system, with the destructive institution of slavery attached, became a blighting force in a district which, by its natural endowments, should at once have become the most populous and the richest portion of North America."³¹

Whatever influences the intellectual life in one particular must influence it in all; and we find that for the time being Southern literature suffered. I have said that the educational conditions also had much to do with this literary barrenness. The Virginia historian, Campbell, declares that the first and second generation of Virginians were far inferior to their ancestors in knowledge. And yet, popular free education was intended as a part of the earliest plans of the Virginia Company. Funds amounting to several thousand pounds had been appropriated in 1621 by this corporation, for the founding of a free institution bearing the name of "East India School" and to be located at "Charles Citty." There was to be a still higher school, and funds for this also had been provided. A certain scholar, George Thorpe, came over to establish the system, but he perished in the massacre of 1622, and thus the scheme failed. The company lost a portion of its power over the colonies; the control came partially into royal hands; and then it was that an official made the sneering remark: "Virginia education be damned; we want Virginia tobacco!"

These were the conditions during the latter half of the seventeenth century. Even as late as 1715, when Governor Spotswood dissolved the Virginia assembly he felt free to say: "I observe that the grand ruling party in your house has not furnished chairmen of two of your standing committees who can

31. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 48.

spell English or write common sense, as the grievances under their own handwriting will manifest." But before this time educational conditions had begun to improve. In 1693 William and Mary College had been established; by 1776 it had taken on somewhat the semblance of a university, with small beginnings in law and medicine; and it had already begun to show that rich fruit which its long career has given America. John Fiske has given but a slight hint of that fruit when he says:

"Though until lately its number of students at one time has never reached one hundred and fifty, it has given to our country fifteen senators and seventy representatives in Congress; seventeen governors of States and thirty-seven judges; three presidents of the United States:—Jefferson, Monroe, and Tyler; and the great Chief Justice Marshall."³²

The colony, moreover, was not without other signs of intellectual development. Fiske mentions the fact that among a Virginia musician's effects sold in 1755 were found Handel's "Acis and Galatea" and "Apollo's Feast," four books of the instrumental scores of Handel's oratorios, ten books of Handel's songs, the score of several Corelli sonatas, and the works of several other standard composers.³³ By 1716 Williamsburg had a theatre, and from time to time English companies went there and to Charleston.

But all this was at a later date than that with which we must deal at this moment. Ignorance was undoubtedly for a period the bane of Virginia life, and bigotry was its companion. Witches were tortured in Virginia as in New England.³⁴ The Virginia assembly passed a law in 1632 punishing all dissenters from the Episcopal Church, in 1662 all persons refusing to have their children baptized were banished; in 1741 the Presbyterians were persecuted by cruel laws; and as late as 1746 the Moravians and Methodists suffered "legal" indignities. Professor Moses Coit Tyler has summed it up, perhaps a little unfairly, but not greatly so, when he says:

32. Fiske's "Virginia and Her Neighbors," vol. II, p. 129.

33. See *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. III, p. 251.

34. Burk's "History of Virginia," vol. II, Appendix XXXI.

"The units of the community isolated; little chance for mind to kindle mind; no schools; no literary institutions, high or low; no public libraries; no printing press; no intellectual freedom; no religious freedom; the forces of society tending to create two great classes; a class of vast land-owners, haughty, hospitable, indolent, passionate, given to field-sports and politics, and a class of impoverished white plebeians and black serfs;—these constitute a situation out of which may be evolved country gentlemen loud-lunged and jolly fox-hunters, militia heroes, men of boundless domestic heartiness and social grace, astute and imperious politicians, fiery orators, and, by and by, here and there, some men of elegant culture, most acquired abroad; here and there, perhaps, after a while, a few amateur literary men; but no literary class, and almost no literature."³⁵

Thus opens the period from 1676 to 1776—the period which John Fiske has called "the century of political education." If intellectual affairs were in such a condition as that noted above, what caused the sudden awakening, the rapid development, which took place in the years immediately following 1676? The reasons again are apparent.

BACON'S DECLARATION

For some time there had been a growing feeling among Virginians that they were not receiving all the rights and favors of government to which their loyalty to the king and their value to English commerce entitled them. Berkeley was frequently careless, impatient of any suggestions on the part of the people, somewhat haughty, and very slow to act in matters which did not immediately concern him and his. He had shown his character in his famous or, rather, infamous declaration: "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years." Also Charles II, when he came to the throne had acted in a most fool-hardy manner toward the colony. "His first parliament passed navigation acts that almost paralyzed her agriculture and industries; he himself gave to his favorites immense tracts of land that were not his to give; he placed over the colonists despotic and grasp-

35. Tyler's "History of American Literature," vol. I, 92.

ing officials."³⁶ The people certainly were in no frame of mind to receive farther suggestions of serfdom.

But now in the fall and winter of 1675 the Indians began to invade the outer settlements; the colonists fled toward the coast; and the people called loudly for help from Berkeley. Seemingly unconcerned, he remained almost passive, and the savages were emboldened to more outrageous deeds. Something had to be done, and that immediately. A colonial army was organized, and one, Nathaniel Bacon, a man scarcely thirty years of age, was called to the leadership of the little band. The Indians were vanquished; peace was restored; and Bacon, the young warrior, became the idol of the people. But Governor Berkeley had refused to sign Bacon's commission as leader of the army, and his haughty spirit could not brook this rebellious act. He sent forth throughout Virginia his declaration that "Bacon, proceeding against all laws of all nations modern and ancient, is rebel to his sacred majesty and this country."³⁷ But Bacon was not so easily abashed, and he came back at the unpopular governor with a "Declaration in the Name of the People of Virginia."³⁸ We may not go into the details of that bold statement, except to note that it contained eight good reasons why Berkeley should not be proud of himself, and also to note that it ended with the following unblushing demand:

"And we do further demand that the said Sir William Berkeley with all the persons in this list be forthwith delivered up or surrender themselves within four days after the notice hereof; or otherwise we declare as followeth:

"That in whatsoever place, house, or ship, any of the said persons shall reside, be hid, or protected, we declare the owners, masters or inhabitants of the said places to be confederates and traitors to the people, and the estates of them, as also of all the aforesaid persons, to be confiscated; and this we the Commons of Virginia do declare, desiring a firm union amongst ourselves that we may jointly and with one accord defend ourselves against the common enemy." . . .³⁹

36. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 43.

37. Berkeley's Declaration against Bacon. "Aspinwall Papers," Massachusetts Historical Society, 1371.

38. Ibid.

39. "Aspinwall Papers," Massachusetts Historical Society, 1871.

In the conflict which followed, Bacon proved himself decidedly the shrewder antagonist, and undoubtedly would have won the victory had not death suddenly overtaken him. The cause of that death will never be known; but tradition says that poison in the hands of a faithless soldier did the mysterious work. His very burial place was kept secret; but tradition locates it near Gloucester Court House, Virginia. But one thing is certain: the souls of the people were at last fully awakened, and the century of political education had begun.

THE BURWELL PAPERS

In those days it was a dangerous business to praise a patriot. Therefore we shall find the first literary results of this "rebellion" unsigned. They go by the name of the "Burwell Papers"—for they long remained in the possession of the Burwell family—and may be found today in the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Opening in the midst of a description of an Indian fight—for the first pages are lost—they tell in simple but effective words the story of our first national hero.

"They began," the account declares, "to have Bacon's merits in mistrust as a luminary that threatened an eclipse to their rising glories; for though he was but a young man, yet they found that he was master and owner of those inducements which constitute a complete man." The story tells of Bacon's work as leader, the admiration of the people, the refusal on the part of the governor to sign his commission. He is proclaimed a rebel. Ever a man of quick decision, he at once marches with five hundred men against the capital, makes terms of peace, and goes his way. Again he is proclaimed a rebel.

"This strange and unexpected news," as the narrative quaintly puts it, "put him, and some with him, shrewdly to their trumps, believing that a few such deals or shuffles (call them which you please) might quickly wring the cards and game too out his hand. . . .

"It vexed him to the heart (as he was heard to say) for to think that while he was hunting wolves, tigers, and foxes, which daily destroyed our harmless sheep and lambs, that he and those

with him should be pursued with a full cry, as a more savage or a no less ravenous beast. But to put all out of doubt, and himself in some degree of safety, since he could not tell but that some whom he left behind might not more desire his death than to hear that by him the Indians were destroyed, he forthwith (after a short consultation held with some of his soldiers) countermarches his army, and in a trice came up with them at the Middle Plantation, a place situated in the very heart of the country."⁴⁰

Have I not intimated that Bacon was the shrewder antagonist? He decided to fight a bloodless battle. Dispatching his men throughout the neighboring country, he ordered them to bring in all the colonial dames they could find, to place as shields in front of his own soldiers. The frightened ladies were brought to camp; they were put in the proper, or perhaps improper positions; and Bacon dared the enemy to come forth. According to the manuscript,

"The poor gentlewomen were mightily astonished at this project; neither were their husbands void of amazements at this subtle invention. . . . This action was a method in war that they were not well acquainted with (no, not those the best informed in military affairs), that before they could come to pierce their enemies sides, they must be obliged to dart their weapons through their wives' breasts; by which means though they (in their own persons) might escape without wounds, yet it might be the lamentable fate of their better half to drop by gunshot, or otherwise be wounded to death.

"Whether it was these considerations, or some others I do not know, that kept their swords in their scabbards, but this is manifest: That Bacon knit more knots by his own head in one day than all the hands in town was able to untie in a whole week; while these ladies' white aprons became of greater force to keep the besieged from falling out than his works (a pitiful trench) had strength to repel the weakest shot that should have been sent into his leaguer, had he not made use of his invention."⁴¹

Thus the story continues, until it comes to the death of the young hero, and here the pathos is indeed sincere. One portion of that final description is in the form of an epitaph, "drawn,"

40. Bacon's Proceedings in "Burwell Papers".

41. Bacon's Proceedings in "Burwell Papers".

so the manuscript says, "by the man that waited upon his person, as it is said, and who attended his corpse to their burial place." We shall never know the name of the writer of the sorrowful elegy, but he had the gifts of a poet. In these lines we have the first original poetry of merit written in America.

"Death, why so cruel? What! no other way
To manifest thy spleen, but thus to slay
Our hopes of safety, liberty, our all,
Which, through thy tyranny, with him must fall
To its late chaos? . . .

. . . Now we must complain,
Since thou, in him, hast more than thousand slain,
Whose lives and safeties did so much depend
On him their life, with him their lives must end.

If't be a sin to think Death brib'd can be
We must be guilty; say 'twas bribery
Guided the fatal shaft. Virginia's foes,
To whom for secret crimes just vengeance owes
Deserved plagues, dreading their just desert,
Corrupted Death by Paracelsian art
Him to destroy; whose well tried courage such,
Their heartless hearts, nor arms, nor strength could touch.
Who now must heal those wounds, or stop that blood
The Heathen made, and drew into a flood?
Who is't must plead our cause? nor trump nor drum
Nor Deputations; these, alas! are dumb
And cannot speak. . . .

While none shall dare his obsequies to sing
In deserv'd measures; until time shall bring
Truth crown'd with freedom, and from danger free
To sound his praises to posterity.

Here let him rest; while we this truth report
He's gone from hence unto a higher Court
To plead his cause, where he by this doth know
Whether to Caesar he was friend or foe."⁴²

THE "T. M." MANUSCRIPT

In 1803 Rufus King, happening one day to attend an auction sale in London, found and purchased at a very small price a curious manuscript signed "T. M." and dated July 13, 1705.

42. Bacon's Proceedings in "Burwell Papers".

Upon examination it proved to be a report sent to Robert Harley, at one time Secretary of State for Great Britain, and evidently had been written in answer to his request for a trustworthy account of Bacon's Rebellion. Rufus King realized the value of the manuscript and soon sent it to Thomas Jefferson, who had it published in the *Richmond Enquirer* of September, 1804. Like the author of the "Burwell Papers," the writer is totally unknown, save for his own statement that he had been a member of the Virginia Assembly. But it is conjectured, with no small degree of reason, that he was Thomas Matthews, son of Colonel Samuel Matthews, once governor of Virginia.

Whoever he was, he wrote a most interesting story. According to him the whole rebellion had its origin in the fact that the Indians killed one of his servants, named Hen. Perhaps we who, in this day, live amidst the peace and safety of an advanced civilization, can gain some idea of the strange life of those times, from reading this one paragraph of T. M.'s narrative:

"My dwelling was in Northumberland, the lowest country on Potomac River, Stafford being the upmost, where having also a plantation, servants, cattle, etc., my overseer there had agreed with one Robt. Hen to come thither and be my herdsman, who then lived ten miles above it. But on a Sabbath-day morning, in the summer anno 1675, people in their way to church saw this Hen lying athwart his threshold, and an Indian without the door, both chopped on their heads, arms, and other parts, as if done with Indian hatchets. The Indian was dead; but Hen, when asked who did that answered, 'Doegs, Doegs,' and soon died. Then a boy came out from under a bed, where he had hid himself, and told them, Indians had come at break of day and done those murders."⁴³

There is little need of our again going over the story of the rebellion; this one but enlarges and adds to the interest of the narrative found in the "Burwell Papers." Perhaps it would be more interesting to turn for a moment to a few of those portions that show the character of those curious days. How surprising it is, for instance, to read of such superstition as the following:

43. Force's "Historical Tracts".

"This unhappy scene ended [the killing of several Indians], Col. Mason took the king of the Doegs' son home with him, who lay ten days in bed, as one dead, with eyes and mouth shut, no breath discerned; but his body continuing warm, they believed him yet alive. The aforementioned Capt. Brent (a Papist) coming thither on a visit and seeing his little prisoner thus languishing said, 'Perhaps he is powwowed' (*i. e.* bewitched), and that he had heard baptism was an effectual remedy against witchcraft, wherefore advised to baptize him. Col. Mason answered, no minister could be had in many miles. Brent replied, 'Your clerk Mr. Dodson may do that office,' which was done by the Church of England liturgy; Col. Mason with Capt. Brent godfather and Mrs. Mason godmother, my overseer Mr. Pinet being present, from whom I first heard it, and which all the other persons afterwards affirmed to me; the four men returned to drinking punch, but Mrs. Mason staying and looking on the child, it opened the eyes and breathed, whereat she ran for a cordial, which he took from a spoon, gaping for more, and so by degrees recovered, though before his baptism, they had often tried the same means, but could not by no endeavors wrench open his teeth."⁴⁴

Again, there were rumors of fell disaster in the air. Everybody knew that something terrible was about to happen; for—But hear it in T. M.'s own words:

"About the year 1675, appeared three prodigies in that country, which from the attending disasters were looked upon as ominous presages.

"The one was a large comet every evening for a week or more, at south-west, thirty-five degrees high, streaming like a horse-tail westwards.

"Another was flights of pigeons in breadth nigh a quarter of the mid-hemisphere, and of their length was no visible end; whose weights break down the limbs of large trees whereon these rested at nights, of which the fowlers shot abundance and eat them; this sight put the old planters under the more portentous apprehensions, because the like was seen, as they said, in the year 1640, when the Indians committed the last massacre. . . .

"The third strange appearance was swarms of flies about an inch long, and big as the top of a man's little finger, rising out of spigot holes in the earth, which eat the new spouted leaves from

44. Force's "Historical Tracts".

the tops of the trees without other harm, and in a month left us."⁴⁵

We of to-day look upon the Red Man as a rather poor specimen of humanity,—an object of government charity, a loafing consumer of fire-water and tobacco. But there was a time when the native dignity and unbending will of the Indian compelled the admiration of his most tyrannical persecutors. Hear this bit of description from the pen of "T. M." A Virginia council of war is being held, and an Indian queen has been invited to the meeting in order to secure aid from her.

"Our committee being sat, the Queen of Pamunby . . . was introduced, who enter the chamber with a comportment graceful to admiration, bringing on her right hand an Englishman interpreter, and on her left her son, a stripling twenty years of age, she having round her head a plat of black and white wampum peague three inches broad in imitation of a crown, and was clothed in a mantle of dressed deer-skins, with the hair outwards and the edge cut round six inches deep, which made strings resembling twisted fringe, from the shoulders to the feet. Thus with grave, courtlike gestures and a majestic air in her face, she walked up our long room to the lower end of the table where, after a few entreaties, she sat down; the interpreter and her son standing by her on either side, as they had walked up. Our chairman asked her what men she would lend us for guides in the wilderness and to assist us against our enemy Indians. She spake to the interpretor to inform her what the chairman said (though we believed she understood him). He told us she bid him ask her son, to whom the English tongue was familiar, and who was reputed the son of an English colonel; yet neither would he speak to or seem to understand the chairman, but, the interpretor told us, he referred all to his mother, who, being again urged, she (after a little musing), with an earnest, passionate countenance, as if tears were ready to gush out, and a fervent sort of expression, made a harangue about a quarter of an hour, often interlacing (with a high, shrill voice and vehement passion) these words, 'Tatapatomoi Chipiack' (*i. e.* 'Tatapatomoi⁴⁶ dead')

"Her discourse ending, and our morose chairman not advancing one cold word towards assuaging the anger and grief her

45. Force's "Historical Tracts".

46. Her husband.



speech and demeanor manifested under her oppression. . . . rudely pushed again the same question, 'What Indians will you now contribute?' etc. Of this disregard she signified her resentment by a disdainful aspect, and turning her head half aside, sat mute till that same question being pressed a third time, she not returning her face to the board, answered with a low, slighting voice in her own language, 'Six;' but being further emportuned, she, sitting a little while sullen, without uttering a word between, said, 'Twelve.' though she then had a hundred and fifty Indian men in her town; and so rose up and gravely walked away. . . ."⁴⁷

These were the people with whom the founders of this nation had to contend, and these were the people who, in their thirst for revenge, called forth the united efforts of those founders, prevented a dangerous intellectual apathy, and unconsciously aided in causing the power of thought to bring forth a new government among men. Friendly environments are always welcome; but thank Heaven for our enemies; they make us think.

ROBERT BEVERLY

One of those serious thinkers of colonial Virginia was named Robert Beverly (1676-1735). He was a native Virginian, the son of an English army officer who had settled in Middlesex county and who for some time had held the office of clerk in the House of Burgesses. Young Beverly was educated in England, and upon his return to America soon gained attention through his trained and solid intellect. Like his father, he entered actively into the political life of the colony, became clerk of the Virginia Council in 1697, and was a member of the House of Burgesses in the year 1699-1700.

It so happened that one day Beverly saw some proof-sheets of Oldmixon's "British Empire in America." He was astonished at the number of mistakes and marks of prejudice in the small portion read by him, and he at once saw the dangerous effects of such a publication and the need of an antidote. Possessed of an accurate knowledge of Virginia records, he himself determined to write the story of the colony's life. The result was his author-

47. Force's "Historical Tracts".

itative "History and Present State of Virginia" (1705), a work which attracted wide attention not only among the English but also among the French, into whose language it was translated.

In Robert Beverly we have something of a Southern Ben Franklin. He had "a quaint personality and a deal of sound sense,"⁴⁸ mingled with a good perception of the relative importance of things, and his descriptions of the Virginia of his day are full of both wise criticism and well-phrased pictures. Hear him describe an old time "possum" hunt:

"They have another sort of hunting, which is very diverting, and that they call vermin-hunting; it is performed a-foot, with small dogs in the night, by the light of the moon or stars. Thus in summer time they find abundance of raccoons, opossums, and foxes in the corn-fields, and about their plantations; but at other times they must go into the woods for them. The method is to go out with three or four dogs, and as soon as they come to the place, they bid the dogs seek out, and all the company follow immediately. Wherever a dog barks, you may depend upon finding the game; and this alarm draws both men and dogs that way. If this sport be in the woods, the game by that time you come near it is perhaps mounted to the top of an high tree, and then they detach a nimble fellow up after it, who must have a scuffle with the beast, before he can throw it down to the dogs; and then the sport increases, to see the vermin encounter those little curs. In this sort of hunting, they also carry their great dogs out with them, because wolves, bears, panthers, wild cats, and all other beasts of prey are abroad in the night."⁴⁹

And see the antiquity of Virginia hospitality:

"The inhabitants are very courteous to travellers, who need no other recommendation, but the being human creatures. A stranger has no more to do, but to inquire upon the road where any gentleman or good housekeeper lives, and there he may depend upon being received with hospitality. This good nature is so general among their people, that the gentry, when they go abroad, order their principal servant to entertain all visitors with everything the plantation affords. And the poor planters, who have but one bed, will very often sit up, or lie upon a form or couch all night to make room for a weary traveller to repose himself after his journey."⁵⁰

48. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature," p. 51.

49. Beverly's "History and Present State of Virginia".

50. Beverly's "History and Present State of Virginia".

But Beverly's work is not all praise. I have said that he indulges in "wise criticism," and in fact his words along this line are so wise that even the South of today may get some suggestive hints from them. There is no mincing of words in this straightforward rebuke:

"Indeed some few hides with much adoe are tann'd and made into servant's shoes; but at so careless a rate that the planters don't care to buy them, if they can get others. . . . Nay, they are such abominable ill-husbands that tho' their country be over-run with wood, yet they have all their wooden ware from England; their cabinets, chairs, tables, . . . to the eternal reproach of their laziness. . . . They sponge upon the blessings of a warm sun and a fruitful soil, and almost grutch the pains of gathering in the bounties of the earth."⁵¹

Here, then, we find a distinct demand for a more active intelligence on the part of Virginians. And here, too, is to be noted the still more important fact that the colony is realizing more and more the worthiness of its past and the possibilities of its future. Virginia now has a history and men take a pride in writing it. From now on we shall find the note of national consciousness ever growing more distinct, more persistent.

JAMES BLAIR

Mention has been made of the early intellectual conditions of the colony, of the failure in the intended system of public education, and of the founding and development of William and Mary College. The first president of that institution was a power in the land. He deposed two governors of Virginia, and in fact, as President Lyon G. Tyler of the college has put it, "walked rough shod over such small things as grammar masters and colonial governors."⁵² But let it not be thought that he was a mere wilful, domineering tyrant; the intense earnestness of the man and the dire necessity of the work compelled him to hold to his course in spite of all obstacles.

James Blair, a young Scotchman, came to Virginia in 1685. Born in 1656, he was educated at the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated in 1673, and for some years was rector of

51. Beverly's "History and Present State of Virginia".

52. Tyler's "Early Courses and Professors at William and Mary College", p. 1.

Cranston. But the bishop of London saw in this man a restless, aggressive spirit, one who possessed the Scotch fighting blood which had made a Bruce and a Wallace famous; and the observant Bishop seized upon him as a worthy warrior for the cause in America. So it was that Blair willingly left a home of comfort and refinement to do battle for his God in a land of hardships and dangers. He at once perceived that one of the gravest evils of the Virginia colony was the ignorance of its people. "Possessing the simple, strong, shrewd, persevering, positive, and energetic nature of the typical Scotchman, he *had* to fight, and forthwith he found his foe."⁵³

We may not enter into the details of James Blair's untiring efforts for the establishment of an adequate school in Virginia. Sufficient to say he obtained colonial money for the scheme; he returned to England and received more money and a charter, and by 1693 he was prepared to open the doors of William and Mary College. From that day his influence was so paramount, not only in Virginia, but in all the Southern colonies, that we are compelled to recognize him as the founder of Southern culture.

More than thirty years after the founding of the institution, that is in 1727, he published, with the aid of two friends, Henry Hartwell and Edward Chilton, a description entitled "The Present State of Virginia and the College." The little book was brought out in London, and both there and in Virginia aroused no small attention, and not a few evidences of bad feeling. But this was exactly what the zealous, hard-headed Scotchman desired. For the tract deals in no trickeries of language; it speaks frankly and boldly.

"When one considers the wholesomeness of its air, the fertility of its soil, the commodiousness of its navigable rivers and creeks, the openness of its coast all the year long, the convenience of its fresh-water runs and springs, the plenty of its fish, fowl and wild beasts, the variety of its simples and dyeing-woods, the abundance of its timbers, minerals, wild vines and fruits, the temperature of its climate; . . . in short, if it be looked upon in all respects as it came out of the hand of God, it is certainly

53. Holliday's "History of Southern Literature", p. 57.

one of the best countries in the world. But, on the other hand, if we enquire for well-built towns, for convenient ports and markets, for plenty of ships and seamen, for well-improved trades and manufactures, for well-educated children, for an industrious and thriving people, or for an happy government in church and state, and in short for all the other advantages in human improvements, it is certainly, for all these things, one of the poorest miserablest and worst countries in all America, that is inhabited by Christians."⁵⁴

At this point it would be well for all Virginians to arise and recite those significant words of that more kind-hearted Scotchman, Bobby Burns:

"O wad some Power the giftie gie us
To see oursels as ithers see us!"

I gladly spare the lovers of the Old Dominion from any more of such heart-rending quotations. Before leaving Blair, however, it would be well for us to consider the fact that he wrote one hundred and seventeen sermons on the Sermon on the Mount! They filled five goodly volume and created something of a stir in the English theological world of that day. The perseverance of a college president is proverbial, but this is a little above the average! However, we may not linger here to reflect on the psychological make-up of a man who could compose a hundred and seventeen sermons on one subject; but let us merely note, in passing, that each discourse is clearly and tersely written, that every argument is based on faultless logic, that every thought is to the point, and that there is not a line which could not be understood by an ordinary reader. At least, that is what preachers of the day said. What greater praise could a theologian desire?

HUGH JONES

In the days of this same James Blair there was at William and Mary, a professor of mathematics named Hugh Jones (1669-1760). Jones was as frank as Blair, and when he sat down to write his own book, "The Present State of Virginia" (1724), he described conditions, not as they should have been, but as they were. He had previously written an "English Grammar," a

54. Blair's "The Present State of Virginia".

book on mathematics, and "Accidence to Christianity," and these texts sold rather widely; but his literary efforts did not attract extensive notice until his clear descriptions of Virginia and Virginians were given in "The Present State." Jones says of his Virginians that they are,

"For the most part . . . much civilized and wear the best of clothes according to their station; nay sometimes too good for their circumstances, being for the generality comely, handsome persons, of good feature, and fine complexions (if they take care), of good manners and address. The climate makes them bright and of excellent sense, and sharp in trade; an idiot or deformed native being almost a miracle."⁵⁵

Thus it is apparent that Virginians change but little as the centuries go by. But even Virginians have faults. Listen:

"They are more inclinable to read men by business and conversation than to dive into books, and are for the most part only desirous of learning what is absolutely necessary in the shortest and best method.

"They are not very easily persuaded to the improvement of useful inventions (except a few, such as sawing mills), neither are they great encouragers of manufacturers, because of the trouble and certain expense in attempts of this kind, with uncertain prospect of gain; whereas by their staple commodity tobacco, they are in hopes to get a plentiful provision; nay, often very great estates.

"Upon this account they think it folly to take off their hands (or negroes) and employ their care and time about anything that may make them lessen their crop of tobacco."

And behold the antiquity of the Southern custom of liquid refreshments and hot bread!

"Some planters, etc., make good small drink with cakes of persimmons, a kind of plums which grow there in great plenty; but the common small beer is made of molasses, which makes extraordinary brisk, good-tasted liquor at a cheap rate, with little trouble in brewing; so that they have it brisk and fresh as they want it in winter and summer. And as they brew, so do they bake daily bread or cakes, *eating too much hot and new bread, which cannot be wholesome, though it be pleasanter than what has been baked a day or two.*"

55. Jones' "The Present State of Virginia".

But in spite of such dangerous customs, Jones sees in Virginia a land unequalled in blessings. Can Virginians of to-day speak with truth such words as these?

"The plenty of the country and the good wages given to work-folks occasion very few poor, who are supported by the parish, being such as are lame, sick, or decrepit through age, distempers, accidents or some infirmities; for where there is a numerous family of poor children, the vestry takes care to bind them out apprentices till they are able to maintain themselves by their own labor; by which means they are never tormented with vagrant and vagabond beggars. . . ."

A desirable state of affairs, is it not? Little wonder that Jones waxes enthusiastic and delivers himself of the following boastful declaration:

"If New England be called a receptacle of Dissenters, and an Amsterdam of religion, Pennsylvania the nursery of Quakers, Maryland the retirement of Roman Catholics, North Carolina the refuge of runaways, and South Carolina the delight of buccaneers and pirates, Virginia may be justly esteemed the happy retreat of true Britons and true Churchmen. . . ."

WILLIAM BYRD

Perhaps the most learned and most versatile of all these "true Britons and true Churchmen" was Colonel William Byrd. Born at Westover, Virginia, the family seat which had been established by his father a few years previous, he was educated in England, Holland, and France, studied law under the best English attorneys of the day, was called to the bar in the Middle Temple, was elected a member of the Royal Society, and received every advantage which his splendid natural endowments and great wealth warranted. While still a young man he returned to the colony, succeeded his father as receiver-general of the colony, was for thirty-seven years a member of the Virginia Council, at length became its president, was three times colonial agent to Great Britain, and founded the cities of Petersburg and Richmond. We may well believe his epitaph, in its declaration that he was "the constant enemy of all exorbitant power and a hearty friend to the liberties of his country."

56. Jones' "The Present State of Virginia".

But interesting as it would be to look minutely into the varied activities of the talented Colonel, we must confine our inquiries to those quieter hours of his life, when he sat in his luxurious library and wrote down the memories, sentiments, and theories of his brilliant mind. What a library was that for those days! More than four thousand volumes, it is declared, and not for show, either. Colonel Byrd read them and loved them, and the well turned phrases of his writings show their influences. These writings may all be found today in the "Byrd Manuscripts," and, to use Horace Greeley's pet expression, "make mighty interesting reading."

In 1729 Byrd had charge of the party that ran the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina. His "History of the Dividing Line" tells all about it; but—under no conditions should I advise North Carolinians to read the story. There are no churches in North Carolina, says Byrd, and the only people who have no religion at all are "the Hottentots of the Cape of Good Hope and of North Carolina!" But let Byrd himself describe the utter depravity of the Old North State:

"One thing may be said for the inhabitants of that province, that they are not troubled with any religious fumes, and have the least superstition of any people living. They do not know Sunday from any other day, any more than Robinson Crusoe did; which would given them a great advantage, were they given to be industrious. But they keep so many Sabbaths every week, that their disregard of the seventh day has no manner of cruelty in it, either to servants or cattle. . . . A citizen here is counted extravagant if he has ambition enough to aspire to a brick chimney. Justice herself is but indifferently lodged, the court-house having much the air of a common tobacco-house. I believe this is the only metropolis in the Christian or Mohammedan world, where there is neither church, chapel, mosque, synagogue, or any other place of public worship of any sect or religion whatsoever."⁵⁷

I am sure that I mean no ill toward the good people of North Carolina, when I add this final bit of description—a picture of an old-time North Carolinian and his spouse.

"Like the ravens he neither ploughed nor sowed, but sub-

57. "History of the Dividing Line" in the "Byrd Manuscripts."

sisted chiefly upon oysters, which his hand-maid made a shift to gather from the adjacent rocks. Sometimes, too, for change of diet, he sent her to drive up the neighbors' cows, to moisten their mouths with a little milk. But as for raiment, he depended mostly upon his length of beard, and she upon her length of hair, part of which she brought decently forward, and the rest dangled behind quite down to her rump, like one or Herodotus's East Indian pigmies. Thus did these wretches live in a dirty state of nature, and were mere Adamites, innocence only excepted."

We may not linger over the many merry pages in this book and in his others, "A Progress to the Mines" (1732) and "A Journey to the Land of Eden" (1732). A slight hint of their sarcasm is given when we discover the Land of Eden is no other than the aforesaid commonwealth of North Carolina. I am sure that its citizens all draw a sigh of relief when they hear that by this year he had found several preachers within its boundaries.

But it must not be concluded that Colonel Byrd was merely a brilliant scoffer. Many portions of his works are of most serious interest. His descriptions of the early efforts to explore the country, the endeavors to start manufacturing, the political issues, the curious customs of the settlers and of the Indians—these and many other interesting points are touched upon. For instance, note this hint of the misery of a night in the Dismal Swamp:

"They first covered the ground with square pieces of cypress bark, which now, in the spring, they could easily slip off the tree for that purpose. On this they spread their bedding;; but unhappily the weight and warmth of their bodies made the water rise up betwixt the joints of the bark to their great inconvenience. Thus they lay not only moist, but also exceedingly cold, because their fires were continually going out. For no sooner was the trash upon the surface burnt away, but immediately the fire was extinguished by the moisture of the soil, insomuch that it was great part of the sentinel's business to rekindle it again in a fresh place every quarter of an hour."⁵⁸

Many indeed are the extracts which we might take from the writings of this wide-awake scholar and man of affairs; but

58. "History of the Dividing Line" in the "Byrd Manuscripts."

we must close with the following specimen—his recital of the tender Indian legend of a Christ:

“These Indians have a very odd tradition amongst them, that many years ago their nation was grown so dishonest, that no man could keep any goods, or so much as his loving wife to himself. That, however, their God, being unwilling to root them out for their crimes did them the honor to send a Messenger from Heaven to instruct them, and set them a perfect example of integrity and kind behavior towards one another.

“But this holy Person, with all his eloquence and sanctity of life was able to make very little reformation amongst them. Some few old men did listen a little to his wholesome advice, but all the young fellows were quite incorrigible. They not only neglected his precepts but derided and evil entreated his person. At last, taking upon him to reprove some young rakes of the Conechta Clan very sharply for their impiety, they were so provok’d at the freedom of his rebukes that they tied him to a tree and shot him with arrows through the heart. But their God took instant vengeance on all who had a hand in that monstrous act, by lightning from Heaven, and has ever since visited their nation with a continued train of calamities, nor will he ever leave off punishing and wasting their people till he shall have blotted every living soul of them out of the world.”⁵⁹

In William Byrd the colonies possessed a writer of no small ability, a chronicler of most pleasing style and sentiment. Lively and witty, he yet possessed great common-sense and saw beneath the shallowness and uncouthness of the life about him the possibilities which have since become realizations. His life was full of labors for his native land; else we might have had more from him today. As it is, we know him as one who shows more personality and appeals more intimately to us than perhaps any other Virginian of the pre-Revolutionary days.

WILLIAM STITH

William Byrd died in 1744. Three years later another Virginian brought out a valuable piece of work entitled “The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia.” Its author was the Reverend William Stith, president of William and Mary College. Stith was born in Virginia in 1689, is believed to have studied in England, was there ordained a clergy-

59. “History of the Dividing Line” in the “Byrd Manuscripts.”

man, and in 1731, became master of the grammar school at William and Mary. It is known that he was chaplain of the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1738, and that during the last three years of his life he was president of the famous college. Little else concerning the details of his life is known; but here and there in the records of the times we find traces of his influences in colonial activities. We must judge the man chiefly by his one piece of literary work.

In "The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia" Stith intended to give the story of his colony from the beginning down to his own day; but the scale upon which he attempted the task would have required many, many more years than Providence allotted him. That one volume published at Williamsburg in 1747 was a lengthy piece of work in itself, and yet it covered but the first seventeen years of the colony's existence. But his record of those few years, with its detail and accuracy, is one of the most valuable contributions to American history written before the nineteenth century. Based upon records many of which have since gone out of existence, presenting every important fact and proof of every important statement, and in almost every event impartial to the last degree, it stands forth as the work of a genuine scholar. In spite of the fact that Thomas Jefferson thought the style inelegant,⁶⁰ the book impresses the reader of today not only by its frankness and evidence of extreme carefulness, but also by not a few bits of well written description. For instance, read his account of a sea-battle:

"The following year, 1591, Sir Richard Grenville was sent, by the Queen, Vice-Admiral to the Lord Thomas Howard, with seven ships of war, and a few other small vessels, to intercept the Spanish plate-fleet. At the Azores, this small squadron was surprised by fifty-three capital ships, purposely sent from Spain; and Sir Richard Grenville, who was unwilling to leave a great part of his men, then on shore for water and other necessities, to the insolence and barbarity of the islanders, staid so long in getting them off, that he was hemmed in between the enemy's fleet and the island of Flores. In this dangerous situation he scorned to show any signs of fear, or to owe his safety to flight; but he bravely bore down upon the enemy, and endeavored to

60. Jefferson's "Complete Works," vol. VIII, p. 415.

break through them, in which attempt he maintained a gallant and obstinate fight with the best of the Spanish ships for fifteen hours together. He was at once laid aboard by the *St. Philip*, a ship of fifteen hundred tons and seventy-eight large pieces of ordnance, and four other of the stoutest ships in the Spanish fleet. . . . Yet he behaved himself with such uncommon bravery and conduct that he disabled some, sunk others, and obliged them all to retire. Neither did he ever leave the deck, though wounded in the beginning of the close fight, till he received a dangerous wound in the body by a musket bullet. When he went down to have it dressed, he received another shot in the head, and his surgeon was killed by his side. By this time also most of his bravest men were slain, his ship much disabled, his deck covered with dead and wounded, and scattered limbs, and his powder spent to the very last barrel. Yet in this condition he ordered the vessel to be sunk, but it was prevented by the rest of the officers; though many of the crew joined with him, and the master-gunner, if he had not been restrained, would have killed himself sooner than fall into the hands of the Spaniards.

"When the ship, or rather wreck, was surrendered, Sir Richard was carried on board the Spanish Admiral, where he died within two days, highly admired by the very enemy, for his extraordinary courage and resolution. And when he found the pangs of death approach, he said to the officers, that stood around him, in the Spanish tongue: 'Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, having ended my life like a true soldier, that fought for his country, Queen, religion and honor,' thus summing up, in short, all the generous motives that fire the breasts of the truly brave and great, to exert themselves beyond the common pitch of humanity."⁶¹

With all apologies to Thomas Jefferson, there seems to be nothing inelegant about this.

Stith had decided opinions as to the duties of the historian, and one of these was as to the duty of absolute justice in descriptions of all great personages. He says:

"I take it to be the main part of the duty and office of an historian, to paint men and things in their true and lively colors; and to do that justice to the vices and follies of princes and great men, after their death, which it is not safe or proper to do whilst they are alive."

He then proceeds to apply the principle to his Royal Highness, James I:

61. Stith's "History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia."

"King James I. fell indeed far short of the Caesar's superlative wickedness and supremacy in vice. He was, at best, only very simple and injudicious, without any steady principle of justice and honor; which was rendered the more odious and ridiculous by his large and constant pretentions to wisdom and virtue. And he had, in truth, all the forms of wisdom; forever erring very learnedly, with a wise saw or Latin sentence in his mouth. For he had been bred up under Buchanan, one of the brightest geniuses and most accomplished scholars of that age, who had given him Greek and Latin in great waste and profusion, but it was not in his power to give him good sense. That is the gift of God and nature alone, and it is not to be taught; and Greek and Latin without it only cumber and overload a weak head, and often render the fool more abundantly foolish."⁶²

I cannot forbear from setting against this some brief passages from his description of Captain John Smith. That this first leader possessed a fascination for Stith cannot be doubted. With what pride he closes his description of the Captain!

"I shall finish his character with the testimonies of some of his soldiers and fellow adventurers. They own him to have made justice his first guide and experience his second: That he was ever fruitful in expedients to provide for the people under his command, whom he would never suffer to want anything he either had or could procure: That he rather chose to lead than send his soldiers into danger; and upon all hazardous or fatiguing expeditions, always shared everything equally with his company and never desired any of them to do or undergo anything that he was not ready to do or undergo himself: That he hated baseness, sloth, pride, and indignity more than any danger: That he would suffer want, rather than borrow, and starve sooner than not pay. . . . That his wit, courage, and success here, were worthy of eternal memory. . . . That notwithstanding such a stern and invincible resolution there was seldom seen a milder and more tender heart than his was: That he had nothing in him counterfeited or sly, but was open, honest, and sincere; and that they never knew a soldier before him so free from those military vices of wine, tobacco, debts, dice, and oaths."⁶³

Is not the patriotic note clear in this passage? Here again is conclusive evidence of that love of home-land and of that admiration for the past of the homeland, which were soon to cause a

62. "The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia."

63. "History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia."

new nation to come to light. Men read such lines, not with the eyes of temporary sojourners in a wealth-producing land, but as proud citizens of a country gained by the toil and suffering and very blood of their ancestors.

We now stand at the middle of the eighteenth century. Rumors of rebellion were in the air. The newspapers of New England were hinting at English tyranny; the orators of the South dared to speak of a future American commonwealth. Already, (1740), Patrick Tailfer, Hugh Anderson and David Douglas of Georgia had published a bitter tirade against their governor and against British government in general. In it the war-cry of the American Revolution had been sounded. Everywhere men were discussing the rights of the governed; the "century of political education" was fast drawing to a close.

A wonderful galaxy of constructive thinkers were preparing in that day. Henry Laurens, who was to suffer so much for his country in later times, was now a thriving young merchant and political leader at Charlestown, South Carolina; George Washington was surveying the western wilderness; Patrick Henry, through hearing a school-teacher's stories of Greece and Rome, had suddenly felt the thrill of inspiration; William Henry Drayton, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison—But it is useless to attempt to give the names of those numerous founders of the Republic. Let us leave the subject here. The battle is on; the colonial days are soon to pass away; Virginia is to be the Mother-State of a mighty Union. No longer shall we find her writers telling the sentiments of Virginians for Virginians; they are about to speak the emotions of a nation. Within a few years Patrick Henry is to stand within the old walls of St. John's Church in Richmond, and fuse the sentiments of a people into that one sentence: "Give me liberty, or give me death;" Thomas Jefferson is to weld the beliefs of that people into the most eloquent and effective document of modern ages; George Washington is to lead the patriots of that people to victory and freedom. Colonial literature, like colonial life, has ceased; it has assumed a greater importance; it has entered the stream of National Literature.

A HISTORY OF SLAVERY

BY MRS. C. F. MC LEAN

IN the May, 1909, number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE will be the first chapters of one of the most valuable historical publications that has appeared from the American magazine press for many years. This will be a complete history of slavery, as it has existed in the United States. It will be from the pen of Mrs. C. F. McLean, whose contributions to this magazine and to other historical periodicals have given her a recognized position among native historical writers.

In the first installment of this series of papers, Mrs. McLean will have an introduction treating briefly of the subject of slavery from the world point of view. She will review the origin of slavery and present many interesting facts concerning the slavery of white peoples by those of the same and other nationalities, and also the slavery of other races, such as the white slaves of the colored races and the colored slaves of the white races. With this brief explanatory introduction leading up to the main subject the history of white slavery in the American colonies will be taken up. Then the beginning of African slavery in these colonies will be related, the cause of its installation and the different phases of its development being carefully set forth and explained.

Following will be a consideration of the extent and status of slavery at the time of the declaration of independence, and the attitude of the leaders of the American Revolution in regard to it at that date, and, subsequently, their opinions and conclusions as voiced in the constitutional convention. Connected with this part of the subject will be a careful, soundly studied and exhaustive review of public opinion in the north and in the south regarding slavery at the close of the Revolution, and the causes of the change of views that came about in those two sections will be presented.

Then will come full consideration and explanation of the action of the various states on the slavery question and the introduction of the subject into national legislation. From that point onward, in successive numbers of the magazine, the subject will be treated completely and in a scholarly manner in all its different phases and brought down to the present day.

RISE OF THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS

BY THE VISCOUNT DE FRONSAC

[Revised—with additions—from the original edition, especially for the American Historical Magazine.]

II

THE MANORIAL ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE COLONIES

MARYLAND MANORS

THE charter and arrangements of colonial Maryland, the Carolinas and New York, apart from a general subinfeudation to the king, peculiar to all other feudal charters, provided for the especial establishment of patrician orders.

The colony of Maryland, of great extent from beyond the Susquehanna river on the north to the Potomac river on the south and west, was a principality conceded to the family of Calvert, lords of Baltimore. The province contains the most beautiful, healthful and most productive part of North America—the unrivalled eastern shore of the Chesapeake bay, as well as the less noted western shore. A region it is, with easy access to the commerce of the seas, to the richness of the land, broken into creeks and inlets teeming with the oyster, the menenoes, the terrapin; abounding in fruits including the fig, the best known area for the sweet potato and the yam. Truly the province of Maryland was a terrestrial paradise in colonial days—a paradise that even the mad extravagance, corruption, oppression and malfeasance of the grim democracy of the United States has not yet succeeded in entirely suppressing—so strong are the arms and limitations of Nature!

In the beginning, when Lord Baltimore began the settlement of the colony of which he was by grant of the king sovereign lord proprietor, he decided that an aristocracy was as necessary a

part of the state as a democracy and that its function should be independent—that is, not confused with the function of democracy; that its true ancient Greek meaning of “right to rule” should be exemplified. This was in 1634, after he had brought over the first settlers to the shores of the Chesapeake. However, although the assembly refused to pass his “Bill for Baronies,” he possessed sufficient authority from the King as lord proprietor to establish manors with hereditary magistracy attached thereto. This was like what in ancient feudal history is called creating subinfeudations.”

But in regard to the power of the lord proprietor to do these things:—In the first place, the statute of *Quia Emptoris*, which had been enacted in the reign of King Edward I., in 1290, and which decreed that in all sales or “feoffments” of land the holder should bear allegiance not to the immediate lord or grantor but to the king, was set aside in favor of Lord Baltimore by King Charles I., so that in Maryland Lord Baltimore was sole tenant of the crown and had the power of erecting manors as though he were the king himself. While allegiance to the king was preserved, oath of office was administered in the name of the proprietor and all writs ran “In the year of our dominion.” Now, the lord of a manor has a right to hold court and judge all offences happening within the limits of his manor, except the crimes of murder, counterfeiting and treason. This right is hereditary so long as the manor passes in the family from father to son. If the manor is sold all rights are transferred to the purchaser. At first no one could possess a manor but a “descendant of British or Irish,” but in 1683 it was decreed that manors might be held by “any person living or trading in the province properly qualified.” This was similar to the manner of holding seigneuries established by the French king, Louis XIV., in Canada, in 1663. But the seigneur, as an officer, was obliged to be the military commander over his tenants, to instruct them for the defense of the country and to settle their disputes as a magistrate.

The ancient records show that in Maryland the manorial system died out, not because it was unpopular, for no complaint is mentioned by the people against it, and the benefits as founders of the province which the lords of the manors conferred on the

people could not be forgotten. But what caused it to decline was the introduction of slavery. Many ignoble and unscrupulous but enterprising persons began to use slaves on their places to do the work. A manorial grant did not authorize slavery. This was in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and as time progressed the lords of manors found themselves steadily falling behind in revenue, owing to the small return which their tenants gave them. They were eclipsed in splendor of display by the ignorant, low bred, but wealthy, parvenues whose places were worked by slaves. So, one by one, yielding to the temptation and pressure of events, the lords of the manors descended from their exalted position, sold the portions occupied by tenants to those tenants and with the money purchased slaves to work the portion of the manor reserved for themselves. So the manor disappeared in the plantation.

Those who read this should not forget that the lords of the manors of Maryland were the founders and patricians of the province. Lord Baltimore recognized them as such in the writs by which he endowed them with manorial rights. He permitted that anyone finding favor in his sight as a proper person and bringing wealth and people to the province might acquire such manorial rights on the possession of at least 2,000 acres. As an example, a part of the writ creating George Talbot, a cousin of Lord Baltimore, lord of Susquehanna manor in Cecil county in 1680 is here in evidence:

“Know that for and in consideration that our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor, George Talbot, of Castle Rooney, of County Roscommon, in the Kingdom of Ireland, hath undertaken, at his own proper cost and charges, to transport, or cause to be transported into the province within 12 years from date thereof 640 persons of British or Irish descent here to inhabit, and we not only having a great love, respect and esteem for our said cousin and counsellor, but willing also to give him all due and lawful encouragement in so good design of peopling and increasing the inhabitants of this our Province of Maryland, well considering how much this will conduce to the strength and defense thereof, and that he may receive some recompense for the great charge and expense he must be at, in importing so great a number of persons into

this our province aforesaid," * * * * "we have thought fit to grant unto our dear cousin and counsellor all that tract or dividend of land called Susquehanna, lying in Cecil County, in our said province. * * * * containing an estimate of 32,000 acres. * * * * with all the prerogatives and royalties of a manor and the magistracy thereof."

These Talbots belonged to an ancient Norman family that had been settled in Ireland for generations. Of the Catholic party, they were opposed to Protestant England, and it was the religion only of James II. that recommended him to the Catholic Irish in the days when Prince William of Orange, invited to England by the Protestants, chased King James over into Ireland. The George Talbot mentioned in this as lord of the manor of Susquehanna was cousin of Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnell, commonly known as "Dick" Talbot, who was one of the Irish generals in the service of King James II. against the Prince of Orange in 1698. It is said that Talbot, while deputy governor, stabbed a man with whom he quarrelled and fled and took refuge in a cave in Cecil county, where for a long while his food was brought him by several trained falcons. Some of the Talbot loyalists settled in Nova Scotia in 1783.

Bashford Manor, on the Wicomico, was granted to Dr. Thomas Gerrard in 1650 for an annual quit rent of 15 bushels of corn. In 1678 he sold it to Governor Thomas Notley, who divided it afterwards into small holdings and sold it, the manor then becoming extinct. The name of Governor Notley has passed into many families and preserves the memory of one of the foremost founders of Maryland.

Brooke Place Manor, in St. Mary's county, in 1654 reckoned as its lord Governor Robert Brooke, president of Lord Baltimore's council. He had in 1650 the manor of De la Brooke, on Battle creek, in Calvert county. He had come from England with his wife and 10 children and brought over 28 other persons—servants, retainers and colonists. He became the commander of the county. His eldest son, Baker Brooke, was confirmed as the lord of the manor. The council of Governor Charles Calvert met at his manor-house July 19, 1662, and it was standing until

about 80 years ago. This name may be found among the loyalists of Ontario.

Cross Manor, on St. Inigoes Creek, in 1639 had been erected in favor of the Honorable Thomas Cornwaleys. The manor-house, built of English brick, is the oldest brick house in Maryland, yet standing. Captain Cornwaleys was associated with Lord Leonard Calvert and Mr. Jerome Hawley in the government of the province. The Cornwaleys, or Cornwallis family, were represented in Nova Scotia.

Evelynton Manor, in the "Baronie of St. Mary," was conceded to the Honorable George Evelyn in 1638. He was commander of Kent county in 1637. He came as agent of Clabery & Co., of London (Claibourne's partners), and he superseded that person after that person's departure for England in 1637. He was the means of bringing Kent Island under Lord Baltimore's jurisdiction. He left the colony in 1638 and returned to England, but he had a brother, Captain Robert Evelyn, who was interested more permanently in the province. The Evelyns are among the earliest royalist names of Quebec Province.

Warburton Manor, in Prince George's county, in 1690 owned as its lord Colonel William Digges, son of Governor Digges, of Virginia, whose father was Sir Dudley Digges, master of the rolls to King Charles I. He married Jane Sewall, daughter of Lady Baltimore by her former marriage with the Honorable Henry Sewall, of London. This manor passed to William, the eldest son of Colonel Digges, and to his children, one of whom, a daughter—Jane—married Colonel John Fitzgerald, of Virginia. The government of the United States purchased a part of the manor, on which was erected Fort Warburton, which was blown up in 1814. The Diggeses of the Nova Scotia loyalists, some settling in Ontario, perpetuate their traditions.

Fenwick Manor, on Cat Creek, in 1651 became the fief of Cuthbert Fenwick, member of Lord Baltimore's council. In 1659 the manor house was the scene of the trial of Edward Prescott for "hanging a witch." The only witness who was summoned was Colonel John Washington, great-grandfather of President George Washington. When the day arrived for the trial instead of the witness came a letter of excuse in the follow-

ing phraseology: "Because then, God willing, I intend to gette my yowng sonne baptized, all the Company and Gossips being allready invited." As the witness did not appear, the prisoner was discharged. The Right Reverend Edward Fenwick, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Cincinnati, was a descendant of Cuthbert, lord of this manor, whose only brother, Ignatius Fenwick, married Sarah Taney, of the family that produced Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, of the United States Supreme Court. Many other descendants of the lords of Fenwick Manor are scattered about the Western Shore and in the city of Baltimore. It is likely that the Fenwick loyalists of Nova Scotia are their best representatives.

Little Bretton Manor, granted to William Bretton in 1640, passed to the Jesuit missionaries. The house was built of English brick and is yet standing. It has a commanding position, overlooking St. Clement's bay and the Potomac river. William Bretton came over from England in 1637 and was a member of the assembly. His wife, Mary, was daughter of Thomas Tabbs, who came over at the same time. He brought with him, besides his wife and four-year-old son, three servants. For nearly 20 years he was clerk of the assembly. There were several of this Bretton, or Brittain, family among the officers of the loyalist corps settled at St. John, New Brunswick having commissions from the Province of New Jersey.

Resurrection Manor between Town and Cuckold creeks, was the possession of the Honorable Thomas Cornwaleys in 1650, but it passed soon after into the Snowden family. In 1659 and in 1662 the privy council of the province met there. Captain Cornwaleys came to Maryland with the first expedition and brought with him five servants. He was one of the earliest commissioners of the province. Later he returned to England. The Snowdens came from Wales in 1660 and left many descendants. A leading member of this family, Randolph Snowden, was a loyalist grantee of St. John, New Brunswick.

Portland Manor, in Anne Arundel county, was the lordship of the Darnalls, whose ancestor, Colonel Henry Darnell, relative of Lord Baltimore, came over 20 years before the Protestant revolution in England. Woodyard, another residence of this family,



in Prince George's county, is in existence at the present time and is said to be the most interesting family residence in Maryland. This family has many descendants residing in the state. This name is met with in Ontario.

St. Clement's Manor, consisting of St. Clement's island and part of the adjacent mainland, in 1639 was one of the manors of Dr. Thomas Garrard, member of the council. It is the only one of the old mansions the records of which are preserved. From 1659 to 1672 court was held there continuously. This Dr. Thomas Garrard was a strong Catholic, but he married a Protestant lady and became involved in the intrigues of Claibourne against Lord Baltimore. For this he was attainted of treason and was forced to fly into Virginia, in which colony he settled in the county of Westmoreland, where his descendants intermarried largely and perpetuated the name. The family came originally from Lancashire, England, where it had been seated for several generations, but the name is of Germanic origin and is met with quite frequently in localities settled by Saxon and German people. Samuel Gerrard, first president of the Bank of Montreal, was probably of this family.

St. Michael's, St. Gabriel's and Trinity Manors were the dependencies of Leonard Calvert in 1639. In 1707 these manors, with the exception of the Piney Neck estate, had passed by inheritance to the children of George Parker from the line of their mother's family, who was a daughter of Gabriel Perrot. The first of the Parker family mentioned in the annals of Maryland is William Parker, who was one of a committee commissioned during the lord protectorate of Oliver Cromwell in England to have charge of the affairs of the province, the rights of the Lords Baltimore falling in abeyance during that period, as the Lords Baltimore were royalists. There were several Parker loyalists of this family settled in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

St. Elizabeth's Manor, yet another belonging to Hon. Thomas Cornwaleys in 1639, was on Smith's creek, but it became the property of the Honorable William Bladen, the first "public printer" of Maryland. His son was Governor Thomas Bladen, who married Barbara, daughter of Sir Thomas Janssen.

St. Ingoes Manor, in St. Mary's county, was owned by Mr.



Thomas Copley, better known as the Jesuit priest, Father Philip Fisher. The property is yet retained by the Jesuits.

St. Joseph's Manor, near Tom creek, on the Patuxent, has been the lordship of the Edloes and Platers. Both these families were among the early settlers. The name of Joseph Edlow, or Edloe, is preserved among the Maryland archives as the first of that family on American shores in 1634. The Platers were disloyal to the crown in 1776, one of them, George Plater, being quite notorious for this. But probably in the transfer of the manor from one family to another other considerations than that of fealty were principal.

Bohemia Manor, in Cecil county, was conceded to Augustine Herman by Lord Baltimore to reward him for making the first map of Maryland. He was of a respectable family in Bohemia, in Europe, but had settled in the Dutch possessions of New Amsterdam, now New York, where in 1651 he married Jane Varlett. He had visited England and was thought by the Dutch to be altogether too familiar and social with the English to suit their taste. So, on one occasion, when he returned to New Amsterdam, after 1672, he was arrested and imprisoned. An old account says that he was permitted to take his famous gray horse into jail with him—which must have been in a barn—and that he mounted his horse and dashed out and, though pursued closely, he escaped by swimming with his horse the Delaware, his horse dying of exhaustion on reaching the further shore. The Augustine Manor was conceded to Herman also by Lord Baltimore.

Within the manorial domain of Bohemia was the first attempt made in America by a body of men to practice the principles of socialism by the abolition of private property. One of the sons of the lord of the manor joined this body to the great grief of his father, who manifested that grief in a codicil of his will, whereby he put the disposal of his property out of the reach of his visionary son. The families of Thomson, Foreman, Chambers and Spencer claim descent from the lords of Bohemia Manor, and were among the loyalists who left the Province of Maryland when the ancient regime was overthrown.

Great Oak Manor, in Kent county, was the lordship of Marm-

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aduke Tilden. His ancestors had been lords of Great Tyldens, near Marden, South Kent, England. The family had possessed lands in the parishes of Brenckley, Otterden, Kennington, and Tilmaunstone in the reign of King Edward III., and William Tylden paid for lands in Kent, England, when the Black Prince was knighted. Sir William Tylden, of Great Tyldens, was the grandfather of Marmaduke Tilden, lord of Great Oak Manor, a direct descendant of Sir Richard Tylden, who was seneschal to Hugh de Lacy, constable of Chester, accompanied King Richard, the Lion Hearted, to the Holy Land and fought under him at the battle of Ascalon against the Sultan Saladian in the year 1190 A. D. One of the sons of Marmaduke Tilden was his heir, also a Marmaduke, and the greatest proprietor in Kent, owning 31,350 acres. He married Rebecca Wilmer and left a numerous posterity. A famous name among the loyalists of Canada.

Eastern Neck Manor, Kent county, owned the sway of Major James Ringgold, whose father, Thomas Ringgold, came to Kent in 1650 in the fortieth year of his age, bringing his two sons, James and John. Major James Ringgold married Mary, daughter of Captain Robert Vaughan, commander of the county. Among the descendants of this family may be counted the commander of Ringgold's artillery in the war between Mexico and the United States in 1846.

Fort Kent Manor, on Kent Island, belonged to Giles Brent. The Brents were related to the Calverts, Lords of Baltimore. They consisted of the brothers Giles and Foulk, and the sisters, Margaret and Mary, who came into the province in 1638, bringing a considerable number of servants, male and female. Of their descendants Robert Brent married Anna M. Parnham, of the family of the Honorable John Pole, of the privy council of England; James Fenwick Brent married Laura, daughter of Gen. Walter H. Overton, of Louisiana, and General Joseph L. Brent married Frances R. Keuner, daughter of Duncan Kenner, of Louisiana. Of this family, also, was the Honorable Robert James Brent, one time attorney general of Maryland and an oracle of the Maryland bar. Some also were more decided for the old regime, for nearly all the Maryland gentry favored the royal cause.

Doughoregan Manor was the seat of the Carrolls, the first of whom in Maryland was Charles, who landed at Annapolis sometime in the seventeenth century. To this family belong two celebrated men in the early history of the United States—Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Right. Reverend John Carroll, the first vicar general of the United States, as well as the first archbishop in Maryland. The grandson of Charles Carroll of Carrollton—John Lee Carroll—was one time governor of Maryland. Two of a junior branch of this family were among the loyalists to Nova Scotia.

Stokley Manor, whose lord was Jeremiah Laton, in 1675 was bequeathed to the "first Protestant minister who might settle in Baltimore county," so great was his desire to hear the Word spoken as it had been spoken in Massachusetts, from where he had emigrated. A branch of this family were among the settlers of King's county, Nova Scotia, in 1760, after the expulsion of the Acadian French.

St. Barbary's Manor belonged to the Carville family, the first of whom was the Honorable George Carville, attorney general of the province. A person of great consequence in the romance of history has been made the subject of a novel, "Richard Carvel," and is supposed to belong to this family. In the city of St. John's, New Brunswick, Canada, a mansion house called Carvell Hall, belonging to a family of that name, being likely of loyalist origin and mayhap from the Western Shore of Maryland.

Beaver Dam, West St. Mary's and Chaptico, with 20 other unoccupied manors, belonged to Lord Baltimore's kin until the American Revolution, when, as they were loyalists, true to the crown, their property with that of their relative, Henry Harford, the heir of Frederick Calvert, last Lord Baltimore, and other loyalists, was confiscated. And thus perished the last of the manors, the property of those who had nourished the province into strength and maturity.

CAROLINA MANORS

From the beginning of Albermarle sound to St. Mary's river and back as far in the interior as the French claim along the

Mississippi were the lands of the Carolinas named for the king, Charles II. He was reigning when the province was established as a feudal fief, having several *Co Seigneurs* as *Lords-Proprietors*. Before this, in the early part of the 17th century there had been established a French Huguenot settlement on the St. Mary's river by de Landauniere, under the patronage of the admiral de Coligni of France. But the colonists had been massacred by the Spanish of Florida "not as Frenchmen but as heretics"—a proceeding that was instigated by the bigot queen of France, Catherine de Medici—the same who planned the massacre of St. Bartholomew in that country. But the Spaniards paid dear for it, for a French Huguenot lord, Dominic de Gourgues, fitted out an expedition by the sale of his estate for the purpose, and landed with an armed force at St. Mary's, where the Spanish had built a fort. This he captured and hung every mother's son of them on crosses about the place with the words above each "Not as Spaniards but as murderers."

This was the land, now vacant, which King Charles II. granted, as a co-seigneurie to a company of the British noblesse at the head of whom was the Duke of Beaufort. The manner in which they subinfeudated the territory was into twelve counties; each county into eight seigneuries, eight baronies and twenty-four communes. The titles of landgrave, with the rank of earl, and cacique, with the rank of viscount, were granted to certain of the gentry who undertook to settle in the country and aid with their arms and wealth in the establishment and rulership of the colony. A landgrave received four baronies and a cacique two with seats in the local council, or high court, of the colony. Tracts of land of more than 3000 acres and less than 12000 might be erected into manours with courtsleet. The communes were divided into lots for tenants to hold of the lords-proprietors if they did not chose to be tenants of the landgraves and caciques. Every tenant, or colonist, was obliged to swear allegiance to the king and constitution of the province.

The high court of parliament at first consisted of ten members, one-half chosen by the lords-proprietors and one-half by the free-holders, but later seven became the number of representatives for the lords-proprietors. The landgraves were John

Locke, the philosopher (1671), Sir John Yeamans (1671), James Cartaret (1670), James Colleton (1670), Sir Edmund Andros (1672), Joseph West (1674), Joseph Morton (1681), Thomas Collerton (1681), Daniel Axtell (1681), Sir Richard Kirle (1684), John Price (1686) who alienated in favor of Thomas Lowndes. There was also a gentleman named Smith among the Land-graves whose title passed to the Rhett family. One of the Bel-linger family became possessed later with one of these titles. Of the early caciques were Capt. Wilkinson (1681), Maj. Thomas Rowe (1682), John Gibbes (1682), Thomas Amy (1682), John Smith (1682), John Moneke (1683). The government of which they were the controlling factors subsisted until 1692, when the king purchased from the lords-proprietors their sovereignty and issued a royal charter by commission to the governors. The province became divided into North and South Carolina and the landgraves and caciques, retaining right to their titles, honors and estates, were obliged to share the privileges of the council, or upper house, of the local government, with the other gentry of the colony, while a lower house, or assembly, was created for the representation of the free-holders in general.

"From that period of which the right and title of the land of Carolina were sold and surrendered, by the lords-proprietors, to the king, and he assumed the immediate care and government of the province, a new era commences in the annals of that country, which may be called the era of its *freedom, security and happiness*. The Carolinians who had labored long under innumerable hardships and troubles from a weak proprietary establishment, obtained at length the great object of their desires—a *royal government* the constitution of which depends on commissions issued to a governor by the crown, and the instructions which attend these commissions. The governor and royal council formed the executive judiciary and military departments and were assisted in the legislative function by an assembly elected by the free-holders, as in the other provinces."¹

The aristocracy of South Carolina has claimed from the first a most prominent place in the history of the Anglo-American colonies by reason of its firm establishment, its high ancestry and its strong hold on the administration of affairs—a hold which

1. "Historical Collections of South Carolina," vol. I, p. 276.

was weakened by the revolution of 1776 and disappeared entirely before the close of the civil war of 1861-5—to be replaced by that of the debased and servile democracy of the modern republic.

NEW YORK MANORS

The Dutch had the earliest establishments in New York, although all that land had been within the empire of Charles V. and the claims of the French. The territory of the Dutch Province of New Netherland was colonized by them under patronage of the Dutch West Indian Company early in the 17th century, and extended from the Connecticut river to Maryland. True to the constitutional law of Europe they represented the aristocracy not only in the administration but in territorial holdings and magistracy. The charter of New Netherland² declares:

“III. That all such be acknowledged PATROONS of New Netherland who shall within the space of four years next, after they have given notice to any of the chambers (or colleges) of the West Indian Company here (Amsterdam) or to the commander-in-chief there (America) undertake to plant a colony there of fifty persons to be shipped from here.

“IV. That from the time that they make known the situation of the places where they propose to settle colonies, they shall have the preference of all them to the absolute property of such lands as they have chosen.”

“V. That Patroons by virtue of their power shall and may be permitted at such places as they shall settle their colonies to extend their limits 12 miles along shore.

“VI. That they shall possess forever and enjoy all the lands lying within said limits * * * and also the chief command and lower jurisdiction * * * No person to be privileged to fish or hunt but by permit of the Patroons * * * And when one may establish one or more cities (towns) he shall have power and authority to commission officers and magistrates.

* * * * *

“XIX. No colonist or servant shall be permitted to leave his Patroon without permission.”

Servants and menials were transported to the colony and descendants of many of these are among the newly rich. Such rise from hovel to palace, unless assisted by real merit of race, can

2. New York Historical Society Collections. Second Series, vol. I, p. 370.

happen only under corrupt and republican regimes, among political and financial swindlers, confidence men and grafters. And when such people rise, merit and honor—"in the opposite scale of the balance" as Plato has said,—necessarily "must fall." This is why the relics of the ancient provincial aristocracy consider such people, in spite of their great but ill-gotten wealth, not only no better than their ancestry, but ethically much worse.

How different is the aspect with which the honest and sympathizing reader regards the rise of one endowed by honest genius, struggling upward towards that place of command to which he has been prepared by Nature. From the labors of the humble cot, from the exaction of the laws of existence in other places no less lowly, he turns and nourishing the hours of his vigilance, and preparation and study by hours plucked from the sheaf of his own slumber—as the pelican feeds her offspring by drops of blood from her own bosom—he mounts the pathway to dominion. By patience, by energy, by talent, by learning, by undying loyalty to his cause, by honesty in all his obligations, by magnanimity to as honest rivals who unite finally with him for constitution and state, he succeeds at last to the joy of the honest beholder, or perishes like some legendary Old Guard with his face to the foe.

And that foe in politics, in finance, in sociology, is always the political sycophant, the financial swindler and confidence-man, the social intriguant and vandal—all combined—who occupy that place among mankind which the vampire, the vulture and the hyena do in the animal creation. Amidst these two groups however flourishing on successful chicanery and legalized fraud may be planted the one, what king, or prince, or potentate however strong and mighty is there who can expect his empire to endure if he turn from these of honorable achievements to those of corrupt splendor and wealth? These two forces are in opposition in the state, the one the deadly enemy of the other, and as Plato says, the one can not rise in power but the other must fall. Woe to the state, woe to the king, if it be the fall of genius and honor!

Among the great Dutch families of patrician degree in New York were de Peyster, de Veber, Schuyler, Van Brugh, Bayard, Van Rensselaer, Stinwyck, Beekman, Kip, de Milt, Van Bus-

kirk, Van Curler, Colden, Cuyler, Cruger, Van Twiller, Houten, de Vries, Stuyvesant, Kieft.

Several of the new manors are described in the *Heraldic Magazine* of 1867. Cortlandt manor of 83,000 acres was granted by royal patent in 1697 to Stephen Van Cortlandt, supposed of the Dukes of Courland in Russia and bearing the same blason, argent, the wings of a wind-mill, sable, voided of the field, between 5 estoiles gules. His ancestor was Stephen Van Cortlandt of South Holland in 1610, whose son Oloff came to New York in 1649 as a freeholder. His son, Stephen, first lord of the manor, was mayor of New York and royal counsellor in 1677, from whom was descended the last lord of the manor, Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, a United Empire Loyalist in 1783.

Fordham Manor was granted by royal patent, November 13, 1671, to John Archer, whose ancestry is traced to Humphrey Archer, born in 1527. His son John, 2nd lord of the manor, married Sarah Odell in 1686. The best of this family were royalists in 1776.

Morrisania Manor, by royal patent to Lewis Morris, governor of New Jersey in 1638. He descended from William Morris, of Tintern, County Monmouth, England, and bore, 1st and 4th gules, a lion rampant, regardant or, 2nd and 3rd argent, 3 torteaux in fesse; crest, a castle in flames. His son Lewis, born 1698, was a judge in admiralty, as was his son Richard.

Scarsdale Manor was erected by royal patent March 21, 1701, for Colonel Caleb Heathcote, son of Gilbert, of Chesterfield, County Derby, and brother of Sir Gilbert, Lord Mayor of London. He married a daughter of Colonel Smith of Long Island, former governor of Tangier. He was surveyor-general of the province. His manor passed to his daughter Ann who married James de Lancey, lieutenant-governor and ancestor of that noble United Empire Loyalist. General James de Lancey, of 1776-83, whose posterity are in the lower provinces.

Pelham manor, 9,166 acres, was granted to Thomas Pell, in 1666, grandson of John Pell and Margaret Overand who was son of the Reverend John Pell, rector of Southwick, County Sussex, England, in 1590. His son John obtained additional patent in 1687. The family arms are: ermine, on a canton azure, a pelican or, vulned gules.

Livingston Manor, 120,000 acres, in 1686, was granted to Robert Livingston who traced to the Reverend Alexander Livingstone, of Stirling, Scotland, of 1590. This particular family was of extreme puritan-Presbyterian party containing several clergymen ancestors in succession.

Philipsburg Manor, 1,500 square miles, was granted royal patent of 1693 to the royal councilor Frederic Philipse, who was born in 1626 at Bolsward, Friesland, and whose arms were, azure a demi-lion rampant, issuing from a ducal coronet argent, crowned or; crest, the same. His son Philip married Maria, daughter of Governor Sparks, of the Barbadoes. His son Frederic married Joanna, daughter of Governor Anthony Brockholst, of New York, whose children were I., Colonel Frederic, United Empire Loyalist, leaving 10 children; II., Philip, United Empire Loyalist.; III., Susan, married Colonel Beverley Robinson, United Empire Loyalist; IV., Mary, married Major Roger Morris, United Empire Loyalist.

Gardiner Manor, 3,300 acres, on Gardiner's Island, New York, was erected in 1639, for Colonel Lion Gardiner from England. It was possessed by that family up to the Revolution of 1776, when its rank and privileges were destroyed.

Queen's Manor, Long Island, belonging to the Lloyd family of illustrious Welch ancestry, was granted by royal patent in 1697. Of this family was Henry Lloyd, a United Empire Loyalist who removed to Halifax in 1783.

There was always considerable hostility between the Dutch and English settlements, until it was ended by the treaty of Breda which ceded New Netherland to England, the name of which was changed to New York, in honor of James Stuart, duke of York, who held it as a fief from his brother, King Charles II. The article of the surrender of the province to England, stipulates "security of property, liberty of conscience and of discipline and the maintenance of existing customs of inheritance for the Dutch population."³ Governor Richard Nicholls, commissioned by the duke of York, met thirty-four delegates from seventeen counties February 28, 1665.

Under the English administration the patroonate system of the Dutch was continued into a manorial system as in Mary-

3. Roberts "New York," vol. I, p. 93.

land, and several manors with local magistracies established a nobility in permanent official functions. Among these manorial families may be mentioned Livingston, Morris, and de Lancy, while later the Johnson obtained a baronetcy, the best of whose descendants were loyalist emigres to Canada at the close of the American Revolution in 1783.

Governor Thomas Dongan, son of an Irish baronet, succeeded Governor Nicolls, but the extent of his authority had been diminished by the cession of New Jersey to Carteret and another, yet he claimed for the province, Pemaquid, Martha's Vinyard and Nantucket. He had been instructed by the duke of York to represent the nobility by a council of ten members among whom were Stephen Van Courtlandt and Colonel Frederic Philipse, both lords of manors. An assembly was instituted of eighteen members to be elected by the freeholders of the province. The governor and council were to have authority to establish courts, appoint officers, make war and peace for the protection of the province, but the war-revenue or any excessive call could be collected only by assent of the assembly.⁴ The assembly had "free liberty to consult and debate on all laws." The first government met at Albany October 17, 1683, in which was signed the following resolutions:

"That the supreme authority under the king and lord-proprietor shall reside in the governor, council and a general assembly. The elections of assembly are for all free-holders. No aid, tax, custom, loan, benevolence or imposition whatever shall be levied within this province, on any pretense, but by the consent of the governor, council and representatives of the people in general assembly."

When the duke of York became King James II. he rescinded portions of these resolutions as incompatible with the authority of the assembly and the constitution: namely, that the lord-proprietor should not be mentioned with the king and that the general assembly was not the fount of authority in this province (which authority lies in the constitution at the head of which is the king). He extended liberty of conscience to "all persons of what religion soever," going beyond the resolution of the

4. Roberts "New York," vol. I, pp. 189-190.

assembly which included only those "professing faith in God by Jesus Christ."

As for provincial New York, although it was the most foreign in its population of all the provinces, it furnished the most loyal example—with the exception of Georgia—of all the provinces. And Georgia, originally a part of Carolina, had been made a personal fief of Sir James Oglethorpe in 1732, and its leading people, friends of Oglethorpe and poor-debtors to whom he had given homes in his colony, would have been unworthy the name of humanity had they been otherwise than loyal.

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

Pennsylvania had been granted by King Charles II., in 1657, to William Penn, a wealthy English Quaker, whose father, Admiral Penn, had been so angry with his son for adopting "Quakerish ideas" that it aroused the son's latent obstinacy on this subject until it became a mania in him and a source of ridicule in others. He prevailed on the good nature of Charles II., however, to grant him a tract of land in America, where he might try his scheme of founding a "Quaker State."

The Quaker did not believe in war or ostentation, so all those who wished to escape the danger of the one and the expense of the other were enrolled in this peculiar sect whose members adopted a sober garb, sat with their hats on in church and in court, refused to take an oath, and "theed and thowed" all the world. It is said that they won more land in the New World by trading with the Indians on a glass-bead basis than any group of the other colonists won with the sword. They were a very prosperous and careful people. When the heirs of Penn were true to their allegiance in 1776-83 they took the occasion to cancel their obligations of debt towards them by an allegiance to the opposite party."

Delaware had been in Lord Baltimore's grant as Avalon but was cut off, under the charge of Lord Delaware, for whom it was named. Its early people, some Swedes, some Dutch, some English, were like those of New Jersey, which had been separated from New York.

(To be Continued).

PENNSYLVANIA PIONEER DAYS

COPY of an entry on fly-leaves of a book which belonged to John Ormsby, and is now in the possession of Dr. J. A. Phillips of Pittsburgh, Pa. The first leaves have been destroyed or lost.

* * * expectation. The young people came to my Seminary in numbers so that I had uncommon success in Philadelphia that year.

Next spring I had equal success in Lancaster and Yorktown, Pennsylvania. By this time I found my finances much recruited, so that I was resolved to take a trip to Virginia and so on to Charlestown, So. Carolina, and from thence embark for Europe. When arrived at Alexandria on Potomack, I put up at the best Inn in town, where I was invited to a ball the ensuing night, which I unfortunately agreed to. After the diversion was over, I escorted my partner, Mrs. Spotswood and family, a mile or two up the Rappahannock, and was in a profuse sweat in the month of August so that when I returned to my lodging I found myself seized with a violent inflammatory fever. Here I was attended with three doctors, who with the rapacious landlord, fleeced me of all my ready cash so that I had nothing left but a handsome Gelding, my sword, watch and very valuable clothes, etc.

However, it pleased God that I recovered as much strength as to teach some branches of Mathematics, etc., till I found I was able to set out with a heavy heart once more for Philadelphia (instead of going to England or Ireland).

About this time Gen'l Braddock and his formidable army, were daily expected to land in Virginia, etc., and as I was known to have served in the British Army (as above mentioned) I was offered a Captain's Commission in the Levies, and to act as Adjutant. To this I cheerfully agreed, as a military life best suited my inclinations; but alas, man appoints and God does as he thinks fit; just as I was preparing my Regimentals, etc., I was

seized with a nervous fever and ague, with which I was afflicted till the year 1758, being nearly three years, so that all my golden hopes vanished. At the last mentioned era, the savages were massacring the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, etc., so that an expedition was preparing against them, to be under the command of Gen'l Forbes. Now I thought to have an opportunity of gratifying my fondness for military talents, but my shattered constitution and ill state of health, still like my evil genius prevented me.

However, I put on a resolution of going to the frontiers in some capacity, and if I gathered strength, to accept of a commission which was offered me by different states. Accordingly I set out for the Ohio to act as Commissary of Provisions, which was a wretched employment provisions being so scarce that I could hardly supply the General's table. When the Army arrived as far as Turtle Creek, a Council of War was held the result of which was that it was impracticable to proceed, all the provisions and forage being exhausted. On the General being thus informed he swore a furious oath that he would sleep in Fort Duquesne or in Hell the next night. It was a matter of indifference to the old, emaciated General where he died as he was carried on a litter the whole distance from Philadelphia and back again. You may judge the situation of nearly 3,000 men, in the wilderness, 250 miles from the inhabited country. About midnight a tremendous explosion was heard from ye westward, upon which old Forbes swore that the French magazine was blown up, either by accident or chance, which revived our drooping spirits a little.

The above conjecture of ye head of iron was verified by a deserter from Duquesne who said that the Indians who watched the march of the English army declared to the French that there was as many white people coming against them as there were trees in ye woods. This report so terrified the French that they set fire to their magazines, barracks, etc., and pushed off in their boats, some up and some down the Ohio, so that next morning we got peaceable possession without fight. Next morning we arrived at Duquesne which made a wretched appearance, as the whole of the buildings and other improvements which the French had,

were burnt to ye ground. You may judge our situation when I can assure you that we had neither flour, flesh-meat or liquor in store; the only relief offered for the present was plenty of bear-meat and venison, which our hunters brought in and which our people devoured without bread or salt. There were several parcels of Pack-horses with provisions coming up from the inhabited country, but the savages seized the most of them and murdered the drivers.

Our emaciated Gen'l Forbes was carried on his litter back to Philadelphia where he died in a few days after his arrival. Gen'l Forbes was a brave soldier, but was afflicted with a complication of disorders. A few hours before his death he swore a great oath that he died contented as he got possession of Ft. Duquesne and made the damned French rascals run away. You may easily judge my situation being improved to purchase plenty of all necessaries but could not be supplied for the reasons above mentioned. However, as I was engaged in the business, I thought it beneath me to desert it in the time of real distress, so I even jogged on in hopes of better times.

Very few incidents occurred during the year 1759, at the end of which a series of fresh troubles commenced. The French in Canada began to raise an Army at Niagara to attack our small garrison at Duquesne (now called Fort Pitt) which was in an ill state for defense, when our Commandant, Col. Mercer was informed by express that there were 1500 French regulars and a strong body of Indians making ready for an expedition to Duquesne, which were to attack us in three days at farthest. This information, you may be sure, struck a severe panic, being above 300 miles from any relief and surrounded by the merciless savages, from whom no expectation of mercy was in view; but immediate destruction, either by the Tomnahock or famine. I must own I made my sincere application to the Almighty to pardon my sins and to extricate us from the deplorable situation.

Our Prayers were heard and extricated from the expected massacre, for the day before the expected attack an Indian fellow arrived from Niagara, who informed us that when the above French and Indians got in their boats as far as Vinango on their way to F. Pitt, an express came from Niagara informing the com-

manding officers that General Johnson laid seige to Niagara with a formidable English Army, so that the French Army were countermanded and ordered to return with the utmost expedition. This was done and when they arrived within a days march of Niagara, the brave Irish General Johnson ordered an ambushcade in a difficult pass, through which the above troops were to march, so that they were ev'ry man either killed or taken, — — —, to the great joy, I mean grief, of poor Ormsby and his associates. So far from grief was the event that the greatest rejoicings pervaded the whole. Blessed be the Almighty Lord for this, and all other mercies conferred on me in particular, which may be evinced by the following occurrences of my life.

In the year of our Lord 1760 Gen'l Stanevix appeared on the Ohio at the head of an army with Engineers, artificers with full power to build a large Fort redoubts, etc., where Fort Duquesne stood. I now had plenty of business on hand as I had the charge of the provision branch, and the Engineer branch as paymaster to the works, which I continued to transact till I unfortunately entered into Indian trade by the advice of the Indian Agent, Col. Croghan. At this time I had been accumulating since I arrived in these Western Parts, a handsome sum of money, which to my sorrow, I laid out for large quantities of Indian goods, Pack-Horses, etc., in which trade I had good success till the year 1763 when the savages murdered my clerks and people and robbed me of all my effects and goods to a considerable value, and what was more grievous than my losses, left me above £1500 indebted to the Philadelphia Merchants.

You may now look on the roveing blade as irretrievably lost and ruined. I was then advised by my merchants to give up as an insolvent debtor, but I told them that if they gave me reasonable time, I would endeavor to pay them honestly, to which they agreed. Next year, viz. July 1764, I married a Miss McAllister, who made me very happy, not only in bringing me five beautiful children, but assisted me with the greatest industry to satisfy our creditors and to bring up our children in the fear and admonition of God. Our first attempt in business was at a village called Bedford in Pennsylvania, where I improved a farm, built a house and had pretty good success, till I met with

an accident which nearly put a period to my existence, in the following manner:—I employed a number of men to clear a Meadow on ye above farm, and when the men went to their dinner, I took up one of their axes and began to chop a middleing tree (which was the first I ever attempted) and when it was coming down I ran for it, but unhappily, right in its way so that it struck my head partly in the ground. I was carried home and with much difficulty the blood was stopped when, I suppose, very little was left. There was no Surgeon in those parts so that I was under a necessity to send for one to Monnocoocy at a heavy expense. I lay under this doctors hands near six months before I could stir abroad. But blessed be my redeemer for it, I then recovered and my senses unimpaired, which very few expected wou'd be ye case.

I now found I was able to apply a little to improve my farm and to send a few goods to the care of John McClure at Pittsburg, but he, unfortunately, was killed by an Indian, left my little store exposed to the rabble 'till the Commandant ordered the trifles left to be locked up. Here was another crash to a weak back, as McClure kept a very wicked account as appeared by his private papers. I then employed Eph'm Douglass to look after my little affairs. By this time my philad. debt began to Swell to a deluge, being near £3500 including int. However, I still put my confidence in the Almighty that he would point out some way to extricate me, which was done in the following providential manner. See the following narrative:

About the year of our Lord 1770, I moved my family to Pittsburg, they consisted of my sons John, Oliver and daughter Jennie, then a child; our meeting was in one sense agreeable, but as to circumstances,—they may be easily guessed. After I left my dear wife tollerably settled, I thought I would make one push more at dame Fortune, say, rather Providence. Off I set to Philadelphia with a heavy heart and empty pockets. However I put up (as I always did)at the best Tavern, Litles,—but lived in the most economickal manner. I was one day musing over my distressed situation, when a certain Maj'r Trent, an Old Indian Trader, told me he just then met some foreigners who wanted to lay out a large sum of depreciated money for lots in

the Indiana Grant. You may easily guess how my heart jumped in my breast. I, in short, sold out of 21 shares at £300 each, 117 shares, and to receive the depreciated money in payment. Directly I then waited on my creditors and informed them of the above offer, which if they would accept of, as it read they wou'd sell off my lands and Houses at Bedford, which I was sure would pay them off with interest due 11 years. This was agreed to. Happy day! I then deposited my large bundles of depreciated money in safe hands and out for Bedford, sold my concerns there to Co'l. George Woods and Lawyer Smith, crammed my saddle bags with de. paper money and waited directly on my creditors and cleared off the whole of their demands which amounted to near £5000,—took up my bonds and set out for Pittsburgh with a much lighter heart than when I left it. You may easily guess the reception I met with from the most virtuous and affectionate woman in the world. To see my dear, turning over 5 Cancelled Judgment Bonds and sundry other papers of consequence,—nay the little ones laughed and cried in turn as they saw their parents do.

As I mentioned in page 33 of this narrative that the Indians robbed me, etc. They served all the traders the same way and murdered many. In the year 1764 Mr. William Johnson obtained from the Indians a compensation for our loss's, which was a tract of land consisting of $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions acres, which grant was called the Indienne. All the surviving sufferers were now in full hopes of being reimbursed, but the mercenary Virginia Government sold our land of course cheated many widows and orphans. All the suffering traders or their attorneys, gave in their account of losses to the agents, so that my account was proved before a Magistrate which amounted to £3500,—and some incidental accounts. These accounts were thrown into shares of £300 each in order to share the land in proportion, which landed share we never received, owing to the villany of the Virginians, etc. The above mentioned Trent was one of the agents, and Mr. George Morgan, who lives on Chartiers Creek, is the only one alive, who has sued the Virginian Government, but whether anything can be recovered, time will tell.

However, the shares I have sold answered my purpose, as the

concerns I sold at Bedford and the shares enabled me to get clear of an enormous load of debts. For if I had not the good fortune to do as I have done in about six months after I cleared off with the Merchants, not a shilling of the depreciated money would pass, at least none would be obliged to accept it in payment of debts. It is true that the above load of debts was contracted by means of the Indian depredations, so that the merchants promised to accept of any mode of payment I could fall upon in future. Thus had I the good fortune to get something out of the fire for my losses, which was more than all the rest of the sufferers got, owing to the cruel treatment of our good neighbors as above mentioned. I have still all the documents relative to the Indianna affairs, so that an old debt may be better than a new grudge.

After I settled my affairs as aforementioned, I looked after my land affairs, having some valuable tracts left and some I purchased so that I could support my dear wife and children in a state of independence. The first rub I met with was the death of my dear daughter Mrs. Bedford and a few years after, my elder son John died. The loss of both these well accomplished children was a severe trial to their worthy mother and affectionate father. These losses hardly subsided when my dear wife took very ill under which she labored for six months, at the end of which, namely, the middle of June A. D. 1799 she expired in my arms. If the reader of the mournful catastrophe does or ever did know real sorrow for departed friends, cast an eye upon an old man who recently lost his beloved children and now his heart's delight and the supporter of his old age; it beggars description.

Wrote the above Dec. 14th, 1802.

I endeavored to keep house for about three months after my recent irreparable loss, but found it impossible as every trifling incident brought the loss of my beloved companion to my view. Near 35 years I was blessed with a virtuous and affectionate wife and left me a crazy old vessel, almost useless in this world.

I forgot to mention in the course of this narrative, in the year 1763, that the murdering Indians who robbed me and murdered my people, laid siege to the old Fort in Pittsburgh, and as I had

a house there and a few goods in remnants, etc., I chose to stay there and assist in defending it from the savages, etc. The vile Indians continued to block up our Garrison for near three months when Co'l Bouquet was ordered to proceed to Pittsburgh at the head of about 1500 men, part regulars. The savages having early intelligence of this march, watched Bouquet's motions very narrowly 'till the army encamped on a dry ridge within about 30 miles of Pittsburgh. Here the savages collected all their forces and attacked Bouquet on all sides in a furious manner, being sure of their prey as they served Braddock. The English army was in a wretched situation as the Indians very artfully secured all the Springs of Water in that neighborhood. Thus they fought all day without a drop of water but what they sucked out of the tracks of beasts as happily a small rain fell. As Bouquet in the beginning ordered an encampment to be made of the bags, saddles, etc.; the Indians still advanced that way where the sick and wounded lay in a deplorable condition. In this desperate situation of the English army, a certain Captain Barret who commanded a small detachment of Maryland Volunteers, informed Bouquet that he and his army would be cut off if they followed that mode of fighting. Bouquet then agreed to his proposal which was that a quick march shou'd be ordered towards the breastworks, which would take up the attention of the Indians, while the two small squads shou'l run round the savages, and upon beating a flaen, they should rush up and give the savages a general volley in their rear, which had the desired effect, for the Indians were sure that a reinforcement attacked them. They broke and ran and yelped up the hills and the English in close pursuit of them as far as prudence wou'l permit.

The English began their march and arrived safe at Pittsburgh next day without being molested by the Copper Gentry. If Capt'n Barrett had not happily suggested the above manovre, the savages intended to storm the camp and very probably would massacre the chief part of the army. As the success of Bouquet in conducting his army and provisions to our relief at Ft. Pitt, of course if he was defeated, we wou'd all be either starved or Tommohocked. There was not a pound of good flour or meat to serve the Garrison and a number of inhabitants who joined

me to do duty—Notwithstanding that, under God, the success of our preservation was owing to the above mentioned Capt'n Barrett, yet, when Bouquet and his officers were regaling themselves in luxurious living, not one of them offered the brave New Englander a cup of cold water, nay would not own that the victory was any way due to him. I happily received a little relief by the escort which I gladly shared with Barrett, as I was formerly acquainted with him at Bedford. I think I may set down the above deliverance from savage cruelty to a providential escape. Bouquet, like an Artful, Cowardly Swiss as he was, accumulated the whole honor of the aforesaid success to his superior knowledge of tactics, by which he was promoted from Lieut. Co'l. to a Brigadier. But he did not enjoy it long for in a few months after he was ordered to a command to the Southward and died at St. Augustine, very little regretted. I think the above may be recounted a providential escape from the barbarous cruel savage foe.

The next occurrence of consequence in which I was implicated was the American Revolution, which, if it turned out in the favor of the English would infallibly ruin me, as I adhered to the American cause, there would be no mercy showed me by losing my chief independence in lands, etc. Notwithstanding my attachment to the Americans, they never gave me the value of a shilling recompense for all my losses.

In the year of our Lord 1794, another Revolution was very near taking place in this Western Country, which went by the name of Tom. Tinker's war. It was a deep laid plot to overthrow the established Government to the west of the Allegheny Mountains, which was spreading like wildfire further west; but by the intrepid conduct of the Glorious Hero, Gen'l Washington, it was suppressed in the bud. As there was neither a regular army nor Militia in the country, they might carry on their nefarious practices undisturbed if it were not prevented by the vigilance and popularity of the worthy Gen'l Washington, who raised a considerable number of Volunteers, etc., on the East side of the mountains, who were marched to Pittsburgh, so that the Hen-hearted Insurgents were glad to cry "Pecavy" and accommodate matters on the terms that were offered them. The low-lived

rascals were very daring in Pittsburgh, etc. especially. They were very near setting fire to a store and the house in which I lived,—nay, destroying the whole town and vissinage. By the above sketch of these villainous proceedings, I made a Royal, nay Providential escape of being totally ruined. There was a great deal of damage done on Gen'l Nevil's estate on Chartiers Creek, Maj'r Kirkpatrick's likewise, where a Mr. McFarlan was shot dead.

Thus ended Tom Tinker's war, which was aided and abetted by many whitelivered rascals who wou'd pass for real Patriots and genuine friends to the country. The above was the last material transaction in which the generous and glorious Hero, General Washington distinguished himself,—not like the clocking-hen and croaking frogs, who transact the business of the United States at the City of Washington,—Witness the Yellow Genevian, etc. The Genevian mentioned in the last page is well known by his dapper, swarthy appearance and his extreme avarice and cunning is well known. He has accumulated an immense fortune from a small be-ginning.

I have given in the last page a sketch of an attempt that was villainously made by some of the most wealthy inhabitants of the western waters, to overset the established Government, and as there was no military force in the country to oppose them, there remains no doubt but what they would succeed if it were not for the timely exertions of the noble Gen'l Washington who raised a large body of militia in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania; tho' the military law at that time did not compel them to go beyond their respective districts, yet such was the powerful influence of the brave veteran, Washington, that many offered their services gratis to compliment the saviour of their country. It is almost incredible to mention the vast number of men who appeared at their respective meetings on the Monongahela, Chartiers, etc. A large gang of fellows forced themselves into my house at Pittsburgh, who very impudently called for victuals and drink. I told them I had none for them and ordered them out of my house, and if it were not for the kind treatment my wife gave them they really wou'd burn the house.

From the year of our Lord 1794 to the year 1804 very few

transactions occurred worthy notice, but one which to me was distressing in the extreme. My youngest son, Joseph, unfortunately went upon a trading voyage to New Orleans and from thence to Jamaica, where he took in a large cargo of coffee in a vessel bound for Norfolk in Virginia, and took a passage for himself in another ship bound for the same place. But to my unspeakable sorrow, my dear boy was ship-wrecked and drowned on that coast. What rendered my affliction compleat was that 10 more passengers were drowned with him and were thrown into a hole in the beach indiscriminately, so that I had not the satisfaction of my dear boy being decently buried. God of his infinite mercy, pitty his old father who will always feel the irreparable loss during his life. O thou omnipotent power, grant me patience and resignation to thy will. Grant me sufficient fortitude to pass thro' the vale of misery which the Almighty has allotted for me; whether long or short. Grant that I may put my whole confidence in the mercies of my redeemer who has shed his precious blood for me and the race of Adam. Witness the spikes drove into his limbs and the thorns.

My dear son was drowned the 20th December, 1803.

Aug'st ye 19th 1792.

Memorandum.

As the following lines may be of service to my family hereafter, I have taken the trouble to acquaint them that my father, Oliver, was the youngest brother of four, viz:—John, Paul, Joseph and my father.

My uncle John enjoyed the family estate of Clohane, near Newton, Gore and Ballenie, in the province of Conaht, Ireland. —which estate (being very considerable) descended to his eldest son Henry, who, I am informed, died without issue, male, if so, the estate (being hereditary in the male line for many ages) must have descended to James Ormsby Esq., who was grandson to my uncle Paul, his father, Charles, then being dead. But should the day come that the male line should prove extinct in the above mentioned offspring of my uncle Paul and Joseph, then it must revert to the eldest of the male line of my family. The idea may be thought Chimerical by some, but still it is not im-

possible, so that this short history may be of service hereafter,— if it does not, it will not eat any bread.

As I was gay and thoughtless when I left my native country, I took very little heed to chronological accounts of families; but this far I remember: That my grandfather's name was Robert the son of John, etc., and that the first of the name of Ormsby (who arrived from England) joined Earl Strangbo in the reduction of Ireland, and that another set of adventurers of the name, came over with their families in 1641, who assisted in preventing the Protestants from being totally massacred in that country.

I should not forget that my grandfather by my Mother, was Co'l Barry, (descended from a Jun'r branch of Lord Barrymore,) who lost his leg in the wars of Flanders.

To conclude this sketch. If being related to the greatest quality in that country, namely, the Gores, Blakenys, Bingham, Stauntons, etc., could be of any service, their blood runs in my veins, also many other families of distinction.

Inclosed are two letters received many years ago.

That which is signed Henry, was then in possession of the extensive estate of Clohane, and the other signed James, was then the presumptive heir of Clohane and a Maj'r in the British service.

His brother Arthur was Maj'r of another regiment, and were much esteemed as excellent officers. I might exhibit here some mournful and some ludicrous scenes of my life, but as this memoir is only intended as a short memento to my family, especially for the expectations that may one day be realized respecting the estate, I shall write no more at this time, but subscribe myself John Ormsby.

A
JOURNAL
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS
IN

The Detection of the Conspiracy

FORMED BY

Some *White* People in Conjunction with *Negro* and other *Slaves*,

FOR

Burning the City of *NEW-YORK* in *AMERICA*,
And Murdering the Inhabitants.

Which Conspiracy was partly put in Execution, by Burning His Majesty's House in *FORT GEORGE*, within the said City, on Wednesday the Eighteenth of *March*, 1741 and setting Fire to several Dwelling and other Houses there, within a few Days succeeding. And by another Attempt made in Prosecution of the same infernal Scheme, by putting Fire between two other Dwelling-Houses within the said City, on the Fifteenth Day of *February*, 1742; which was accidentally and timely discovered and extinguished.

CONTAINING,

A NARRATIVE of the Trials, Condemnations, Executions, and Behaviour of the several Criminals, at the Gallows and Stake, with their *Speeches* and *Confessions*; with Notes, Observations and Reflections occasionally interspersed throughout the Whole

AN APPENDIX, wherein is set forth some additional Evidence concerning the said Conspiracy and Conspirators, which has come to Light since their Trials and Executions.

- I. LISTS of the several Persons (Whites and Blacks) committed on Account of the Conspiracy; and of the several Criminals executed, and of those transported with the Places whereto.

By the Recorder of the City of NEW YORK.

Quid facient Domini, audient cum talia Fures? Virg. Ecl.

NEW-YORK

Printed by *James Parker* at the New Printing-Office, 1744.

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PRINT

THE ORIGIN OF THE BOOK OF MORMON

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS

(*A Reply to Mr. Theodore Schroeder*)

IV

M. Schroeder's Treatment of Parley P. Pratt

M R. SCHROEDER'S next development of his attempted "Cumulative evidence and argument" is to establish a connection between Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, through Parley P. Pratt. He first deals with the movements of Pratt from his birth until he is established in Amherst, Lorain County, Ohio, a few miles west of Cleveland, in 1826. In order to lay a foundation for his conclusion Mr. Schroeder gives an exaggerated idea of the notoriety of Joseph Smith at this time "as a 'peep-stone' money digger, through mention made of him in papers published in several counties in southern New York and northern Pennsylvania."¹²⁹ For authority of this statement Mr. Schroeder cites only Tucker, author of "Origin and Progress of Mormonism," and the Rev. Clark Braden, in the "Braden-Kelley Debate." He might just as well have only cited Tucker, for Braden but repeats, in slightly altered form what was said by Tucker. The latter in his work produces not a single news-paper item, nor gives a single reference to any publication in justification of his statement. There was none to give prior to 1826. Joseph Smith's "notoriety" was purely local up to that time.

Mr. Schroeder represents that Parley P. Pratt was a peddler "who knew almost every body in western New York,"¹³⁰ therefore he very likely knew the Smith's previous to 1826. For the statement that Pratt was a peddler, and "ubiquitous," Mr.

129. *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, p. 58.

130. "Hand Book on Mormonism" (1882), p. 3.

Schroeder can only cite an address, before the Union Home Missionary meeting in 1881, by Mrs. Horace Eaton, of Palmyra;¹³¹ and she was evidently repeating one of the many idle rumors from the vicinity of Palmyra, as there is no evidence for the statement of Mrs. Eaton, and the story is refuted by the facts as stated in the first three chapters of Pratt's "Autobiography," where his struggles to secure and clear a farm, in partnership with his brother, are detailed. This farm was near the then small town of Oswego, on Lake Ontario, in Oswego County. It is true that Pratt in the autumn of 1826 visited his uncles, Ira and Allen Pratt, in Wayne—then Ontario—county, New York,—exact location not given. There is nothing "ubiquitous" about his movements, or any evidence of his wide acquaintance with people.

To give a coloring of dishonesty to the character of Pratt, Mr. Schroeder writes the following passage:

"One of the temptations inducing Pratt's departure from New York was to get to a country where, as he himself expresses it, there is 'no law to sweep (away) all the hard earnings of years to pay a small debt.' The ethical status of an average country ment of his 'small debts' furnishes a fertile immorality in which ment of his 'small debts' furnishes a fertile immorality in which to plant the seeds of religious imposture."¹³²

Mr. Schroeder conceals the fact that the "small debt" not "debts" as put by him, was merely a remainder due to Mr. Morgan of whom Pratt had purchased the farm near Oswego, and which owing to his brother's failure to meet his share of the payments, as also bad markets for the crop of 1826, Mr. Pratt could not pay. Whereupon the farm it had taken years to clear of timber, and the crop was seized by Morgan for that debt. Is Mr. Schroeder justified in giving a sinister aspect to this matter?

We have Pratt located in Amherst, 1826. Sidney Rigdon makes his second journey from Pennsylvania and arrives at Bainbridge, Ohio, in 1826, and in capacity of "Disciple" preacher

¹³¹. *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, p. 58, also "Hand Book on Mormonism," p. 3.

¹³². *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, p. 59.

visits the surrounding towns where he becomes acquainted with Pratt. All this is granted. But Mr. Schroeder in trying to fix upon the exact time and circumstance of their first meeting, resorts to a jugglery of facts, and builds on the distorted mass such conclusions as can be characterized only by the term shameful. I quote Mr. Schroeder:

"The date of their first meeting is nowhere given, but may reasonably be inferred from an address delivered by Parley P. Pratt in 1843 or '4. In this discourse Pratt tells of an occurrence which transpired on his way to his future Ohio home, which occurrence furnishes the key to his first connection with Mormonism. On his way he stopped at a humble cottage, the name of whose occupant he carefully fails to give. Here, while asleep (so he says), "a messenger of a mild and intelligent countenance suddenly stood before me (Pratt) arrayed in robes of dazzling splendor." According to Mormon theology, an angel is but an exalted man. Of course Sidney Rigdon was an exalted man; why not, then, an angel? This angel claimed to hold the keys to the mysteries of this wonderful country, and took Pratt out to exhibit those mysteries to him. Pratt then had portrayed to his mind the whole future of Mormonism; its cities, with inhabitants from all parts of the globe; its temples, with a yet unattained splendor; its present church organization was, with considerable definiteness, outlined; its political ambition to establish a temporal kingdom of God on the ruins of this government was set forth with quite as much definiteness as in the subsequent more publicly uttered, treasonable sermons. I conclude from the exact manner in which this "Angel of the Prairies" foreknew the ambitions, hopes, and future achievements of the Mormon Church and the similar admitted fore-knowledge of Rigdon and the subsequently established connection between Rigdon, Pratt, and Smith, that the "Angel of the Prairies" who outlined to Pratt his then contemplated and now executed religious fraud, was none other than Sidney Rigdon himself, and that this fact accounts for Pratt's failure to give the name of his host or the date of his first meeting with Rigdon."¹³³

"THE ANGEL OF THE PRAIRIES"

The work here quoted for these supposedly historical incidents, is entitled "The Angel of the Prairies," and is a work of pure fiction, a product of the author's imagination, profess-

133. *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, p. 59.

edly and confessedly so.¹³⁴ It was never delivered as a public address in Nauvoo, though Mr. Schroeder in the above calls it successively an "Address delivered by Parley P. Pratt," a "discourse," and in his notes a "sermon."¹³⁵ It was merely read in the presence of Joseph Smith and "a general council," most likely the First Presidency and Mr. Pratt's associates of the Twelve Apostles as "a curious and extraordinary composition in the similitude of a dream." Such is its author's characterization of it. "It was designed," he continues, "as a reproof of the corruptions and degeneracy of our government, in suffering mobs to murder, plunder, rob and drive their fellow citizens with impunity. It also suggested some reforms."¹³⁶ It is no more history, or even prophecy than Johnson's "Rasselas" or Sir Thomas More's "Utopia" is history or prophecy. Yet this fiction, and I charge that Mr. Schroeder knew it to be fiction—for he could learn the facts from its preface—must be pressed into service as solemn prose history in order to complete and sustain the vagaries of the Schroeder-Spaulling theory! At first on meeting with this shameful perversion one is inclined to an outburst of vexation. On second thought he remembers that this fragment is but of a piece of the whole fabric of the Spaulling theory, and smiles.

But let us follow Mr. Schroeder further into the realms of his deductions built upon this piece of literary fiction, the "Angel of the Praries." Parley P. Pratt returned to the home of his aunt Van Cott in Canaan, Columbia County, New York, for the purpose of marrying a Miss Halsey to whom he was engaged. This was in the summer of 1827. Mr. Schroeder makes Pratt's visit to New York for the above purpose, the occasion of placing the Spaulling manuscript in the hands of Joseph Smith, and all the connections are perfected for re-vamping this old manuscript story into a pretended volume of scripture. And this is the way of it as *per* Mr. Schroeder:

"Pratt was married September 9, 1827. On September 22, 1827, a 'heavenly messenger' appeared to Joseph Smith and

134. "Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt," edition of 1874, p. 367.

135. Note 101 *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, p. 74.

136. Same as note 134.

unfolded to him the scheme of the Book of Mormon, and disclosed the whereabouts of the 'Golden Plates.' This 'heavenly messenger' is called the Angel Moroni. According to Mormon theology, 'God may use any beings he has made or that he pleases, and call them his angels, or messengers.' 'Gods, angels, and men are all of one species, one race, one great family.' 'God is a man like unto yourselves; that is the great secret.' Why, of course! 'That is the great secret.' God is but an exalted man, and may call Parley Parker Pratt his angel. Parley Parker Pratt was the 'heavenly messenger,' the angel who, on that day (September 22, 1827), appeared to Joseph Smith and told him where were the golden plates, that is, Spaulding's 'Manuscript Found.' Sidney Rigdon for Smith's purposes, was the 'exalted man,' the 'God' who sent this 'heavenly messenger,' Parley Parker Pratt, just as the Mormon people now look upon Joseph Smith as the 'God to this people.'"¹³⁷

One might well consider himself under no obligation to treat seriously such a palpable perversion of Mormon ideas as is here presented. But this taking a piece of Mormon fiction, the "Angel of the Prairies," and misrepresenting it first as a "discourse delivered by Parley P. Pratt at Nauvoo; thence elevating it from fiction to a sober historical document; thence building upon it this misrepresentation, and perversion of Mormon ideas and historical facts, exhibits in the person of Mr. Schroeder that order of intelligence that could conceive of others following the same process in relation to the Spaulding Manuscript, until it was converted into a pretended revelation. I think Mr. Schroeder will not gain much for his "evidence" or his "argument" by this wicked perversion of Mormon ideas and facts of history, since it must suggest the innate weakness of a cause that requires such intellectual dishonesty, as is here exhibited.

It is true that the Mormons are anthropomorphists in that they believe that Jesus Christ is the "brightness of God's glory and the express image of his person"¹³⁸—the revelation of God as well in form as in spiritual attributes; they believe that Jesus Christ is not only divine, but Diety; that he exists now as he did after his resurrection from the dead, an immortal per-

¹³⁷. *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, pp. 60, 61.

¹³⁸. "Hebrews" 1, 3.

sonage of flesh and bones and spirit—hence that God is an exalted man; that he uses other men, perfected and glorified, such as Noah, Moses, Elijah, and others, as his angels and arch-angels and messengers, to aid in the accomplishment of his purposes. But to represent the Latter-day Saints as believing in or accepting such jugglery as that which Mr. Schroeder charges is an outrage and a direct and conscious misrepresentation of the faith of a people. Joseph Smith indeed proclaimed that God appeared to him; in fact he claims that both the Father and the Son appeared to him, but it is blasphemy to think of Rigdon impersonating them, or either of them, in the manner and for the purpose represented by Mr. Schroeder. This revelation moreover was given in 1820, not 1827.¹³⁹ Joseph Smith said an angel visited him and revealed to him the existence of the Book of Mormon; but this was a very definite personage, a man who lived in America in the fourth Century of the Christian Era, now raised from the dead and sent to make this revelation of the American volume of scripture; he was not Parley P. Pratt; and he revealed the existence of the Book of Mormon to Joseph Smith in September, 1823, not 1827.¹⁴⁰

THE SUPPOSED MEETINGS OF JOSEPH SMITH AND SIDNEY RIGDON
BEFORE THE PUBLICATION OF THE BOOK OF MORMON.

Mr. Schroeder after getting the Spaulding manuscript into the hands of Joseph Smith, *via* Parley P. Pratt, proceeds next to bring Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith together for the necessary collaboration on the manuscript. The chief, and I may say the only, authority that Mr. Schroeder really gives for this charge is that of Pomery Tucker, author of "Origin, Rise and Progress of Mormonism," (1867). Tucker having brought his narrative down to the year 1827, announces the appearance of a "mysterious stranger" at the Smith residence. No name or purpose of this stranger is given out even to the nearest neighbors, but it was observed that "his visits were frequently repeated." Afterwards Tucker makes out this mys-

139. See Joseph Smith's own account "Pearl of Great Price," writings of Joseph Smith, and many other Mormon works.

140. *Ibid.*

terious stranger to be Sidney Rigdon. The other "witnesses," Mrs. Eaton (1881), as also J. H. McCauley, in his "History of Franklin County, Pa.," together with Abel Chase and Lorenzo Saunders, neighbors of the Smith's (the last three are the "witnesses" named by Praden in the "Braden-Kelley Debate," and for which that disputant gives no authority) but repeat the charge of Tucker. Mr. Schroeder himself in another matter, however, discredits Tucker. In his note 115, he says: "Tucker * * * says Rigdon officiated at the wedding of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale, but he fixes the date of the wedding in November, 1829, when in fact it seems to have occurred Jan. 18, 1827. Tucker therefore may have been misinformed."¹⁴¹ And Joseph Smith, who ought to know, says that he and Emma were married by Esquire Tarbill.¹⁴²

Lucy Smith, in her "History of the Prophet Joseph," makes mention of a stranger coming to the home of the Smith's in company with Joseph about the time Martin Harris lost 116 pages of the translation of the Book of Mormon. The reason for the stranger accompanying the prophet to his home was the dejection of spirits and illness and physical weakness of the latter, and out of kindness the stranger insisted upon accompanying Joseph home from the point at which he left the stage on which he had travelled from his home in Harmony, Pennsylvania. Mr. Schroeder, of course, seeks to press the incident into service as an evidence of the acquaintance and co-operation of Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon before the Book of Mormon is published; hence as seen through Mr. Schroeder's eyes, the "stranger" is Sidney Rigdon. There is nothing, however, in the narrative of Lucy Smith to warrant the conclusion that this stranger was Sidney Rigdon; and Mr. Schroeder is certainly in error as to the "stranger" being present at the interview between Martin Harris and the Smith's on the next day—the only circumstance that could have made the coming of the "stranger" in any way significant in Mr. Schroeder's theories.¹⁴³

141. "Origin and Rise and Progress of Mormonism," pp. 28, 46, 75, 121.

142. "History of the Church," Vol. I, p. 17.

143. The incident of the "stranger" and Joseph, the prophet is found in chapter XXV of Lucy Smith's "History of Joseph, the Prophet," Mr. Schroeder's reference to the incident is in his note 113.

Of course, this allegation of the appearance of Rigdon at the Smith home, resting upon no other basis than the fabrication of Tucker, comes in direct conflict with the express statement of both Parley P. Pratt and Sidney Rigdon, but I am not trying this issue upon the *per contra* testimony of "interested" witnesses. I hold that this particular charge of collaboration between Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, involving frequent association and in fact demanding almost constant association between the two in the years from 1827 and 1830, necessarily breaks down under its own weight of absurdity. The movements of Joseph Smith and of Sidney Rigdon are too well known to allow of that association taking place, to say nothing of its being kept secret. The distances separating them during those years are too great to be covered by Sidney Rigdon, even if his falsely alleged occasional absences from Ohio were allowed to stand unchallenged. This matter of distance that separated them, together with the slow modes of travel—by carriage or horse-back—badness of roads, etc., seem not to be taken into account at all in the fabrications of Tucker. Sidney Rigdon is operating exclusively in Ohio, in Kirtland and vicinity from 1827 to 1830. Mr. Kelley in his debate with Braden thus summarized the movements of Rigdon during these years from Hayden's "History of the Disciples:"

"The Disciple (Campbellite) history sets forth, that Rigdon was their standing minister for the year 1825, at Bainbridge, Ohio; for the year 1826 at Mentor and Bainbridge; for the year 1827 at Mantua; for the year 1828, at Mentor, and this year is the time when he met Alexander Campbell at Warren, Ohio, at their assembly, where the famous passage at arms took place between Campbell and Rigdon of which so much has been said. The next year, 1829, Rigdon continued the work in Mentor, and at Euclid, and founded the church in Perry, Ohio, Aug. 7th. The next year, 1830, he continued as their minister, (and the ablest of them all), at Mentor, Euclid, Kirtland, and occasionally at Hiram, Perry, Mantua, and Plainsville."¹⁴⁴

Joseph Smith's movements during the years named are between Manchester, New York, Harmony, Pennsylvania, and

144. "Braden-Kelly Debate," p. 100.

Fayette township (where the Whitmer's lived), New York; a distance from Ohio points, where Rigdon was operating, by the nearest roads traveled, of from 250 to 300 miles. Does any one believe that the necessary collaboration was possible under such circumstance as Mr. Schroeder's theory of origin for the Book of Mormon calls for?

On this whole question of collaboration, and conspiracy by Rigdon, Pratt and Smith in the production of the Book of Mormon the following paragraph from the writings of Elder George Reynolds is most convincing:

"Has it ever entered into the thoughts of our opponents that if Sidney Rigdon was the author or adapter of the Book of Mormon how vast and wide spread must have been the conspiracy that foisted it upon the world? Whole families must have been engaged in it. Men of all ages and various conditions in life, and living in widely separate portions of the country must have been connected with it. First we must include in the catalogue of conspirators the whole of the Smith family, then the Whitmers, Martin Harris and Oliver Cowdery; further, to carry out this absurd idea, Sidney Rigdon and Parley P. Pratt must have been their active fellow-conspirators in arranging, carrying out and consummating their iniquitous fraud. To do this they must have traveled thousands of miles and spent months, perhaps years, to accomplish—what? That is the unsolved problem. Was it for the purpose of duping the world? They, at any rate the great majority of them, were of all men most unlikely to be engaged in such a folly. Their habits, surroundings, station in life, youth and inexperience all forbid such a thought. What could they gain, in any light that could be then presented to their minds, by palming [off] such a deception upon the world? This is another unanswerable question. Then comes the staggering fact, if the Book be a falsity, that all these families, all these diverse characters, in all the trouble, perplexity, persecution and suffering through which they passed, never wavered in their testimony, never changed their statements, never 'went back' on their original declarations, but continued unto death (and they have all passed away), proclaiming that the Book of Mormon was a divine revelation, and that its record was true. Was there ever such an exhibition in the history of the world of such continued, such unabating, such undeviating falsehood? If falsehood it was. We cannot find a place in the annals of their lives

where they wavered, and what makes the matter more remarkable is that it can be said of most of them, as is elsewhere said of the three witnesses, they became offended with the Prophet Joseph, and a number of them openly rebelled against him; but they never retraced one word with regard to the genuineness of Mormon's inspired record. Whether they were friends or foes to Joseph, whether they regarded him as God's continued mouthpiece or as a fallen Prophet, they still persisted in their statements with regard to the book and the veracity of their earlier testimonies. How can we possibly with our knowledge of human nature make this undeviating, unchanging, unwavering course, continuing over fifty years, consistent with a deliberate, premediated and cunningly—devised and executed fraud!"¹⁴⁵

The last matter of argument in the quotation above, the unwavering adherence of the witnesses to the coming forth of the Book of Mormon and the relationship they sustained to that work, has peculiar force when applied to the case of Sidney Rigdon. He claims to have known nothing of the Book of Mormon until it was presented to him (as we shall see later by a statement of his) by Parley P. Pratt and Oliver Cowdery, some six months after its publication. But let us suppose for the sake of the argument, that he really took the part assigned to him by Mr. Schroeder in bringing into existence the Book of Mormon; that he stole the Spaulding "Manuscript Found" about 1816; that hearing of Smith through Pratt, he then sent the said manuscript to Smith to be announced as a revelation from God; that afterwards he collaborated with Smith to produce the Book of Mormon out of it. It will go without saying that a thief, and especially such a thief, as Rigdon is here represented to be, is a very ignoble character; and it will not be too much to say that if such a character is hard pressed by his associates, or is, what he might consider, ill treated by them, he will very probably betray them. Sidney Rigdon certainly considered himself both hard pressed and positively wronged by his brethern—but he never "revealed" the "fraud" in which Mormonism is supposed to have had its origin. Joseph Smith sought to be rid of him as his

145. "Myth of Manuscript Found," (1883) pp. 35-6.



counselor at the October Conference of 1843. He directly charged Rigdon with treachery, of being leagued with his deadly enemies, and that he had no confidence in his "integrity and steadfastness;" that Rigdon had been profitless to him as a counselor since their escape from Missouri in 1839. By virtue of a vigorous denial on the part of Rigdon as to some of the charges, and a plea for mercy as to some delinquencies confessed, he was sustained by the conference in his office of counselor to the prophet, notwithstanding the latter was not satisfied with the conclusion of the matter reached by the Conference. "I have thrown him off my shoulders" said he, "and you have again put him upon me. You may carry him, but I will not."¹⁴⁶

After the death of the prophet Sidney Rigdon put in a claim for precedence in authority, claiming that right by virtue of his office as counselor to the prophet now martyred. The priesthood of the church assembled as a body to hear the cause, President Brigham Young presenting the counter claims of the Twelve Apostles as the proper presiding authority in the absence of the First Presidency. Sidney Rigdon was rejected by that body of the priesthood;¹⁴⁷ and shortly after left Nauvoo full of disappointment and bitterness; but he never in those trying days, or in any of the subsequent years of his life, by hint or direct charge or confession, revealed any "fraud" in which Mormonism is supposed to have had its origin; but on the contrary, as we shall see, emphatically reaffirmed his true relationship to the work, and his faith in it.

There is one person, however, who undertakes to say that Sidney Rigdon "revealed" the secret concerning the origin of the Book of Mormon. This is Clark Braden, who quotes one James Jeffries of St. Louis, as saying in substance that in the fall of 1844, Rigdon in several conversations admitted to him the existence of the Spaulding manuscript; that it traced the origin of the Indians from the lost tribes of Israel; that the manuscript was within his reach for several years; that "He (Rigdon) and Joe Smith used to look over the manuscript and

146. *Millennial Star*, Vol. 22, pp. 215-6.

147. *Millennial Star*, Vol. 25, pp. 215, 279.



read it on Sundays. Rigdon said Smith took the manuscript and said 'I'll print it,' and went off to Palmyra, New York." On this "testimony," the Reverend Clark Braden comments: "On his way from Nauvoo to Pittsburg (in the fall of 1844) he (Rigdon) called on his old acquaintance, Mr. Jefferies, in St. Louis, and in his anger at the Mormons, he let out the secrets of Mormonism, just as he told the Mormons he would if they did not make him their leader."¹⁴⁸ This "evidence," however, since it costs him nothing to set aside such palpable absurdity, Mr. Schroeder, with a show of bigness and condescension, discredits by saying: "an alleged admission of Sidney Rigdon to James Jefferies I consider of doubtful value."¹⁴⁹ In this case, as in that of the item presented by Mrs. Ellen E. Dickinson, to the effect that it was "remembered" by some of the Conneaut witnesses in 1834, that the "Spaulding Manuscript was the translation of the Book of Mormon"—the "evidence" manufactured in support of the Spaulding theory of origin, becomes a little too raw for Mr. Schroeder, and his gorge rises at it, and with an air of superiority he "considers it doubtful."

Closely connected with Sidney Rigdon's relationship to the coming forth of the Book of Mormon is another matter several times alluded to by Mr. Schroeder, in common with all other advocates of the Spaulding theory of origin, namely, the assumption that "Joseph Smith, the nominal founder and first prophet of Mormonism, was probably too ignorant to have produced the volume unaided." It is because of this assumed inability of Joseph Smith to produce the book that the Spaulding manuscript and Sidney Rigdon are brought into the scheme of production. And yet it is clearly demonstrable that Joseph Smith did not need the assistance of either Spaulding or of Sidney Rigdon in the production of a book equal, if not superior, to the Book of Mormon from a literary stand point. I refer to the "Book of Doctrine and Covenants." It is true this book was not published until 1835; but the revelations of which it is composed began in 1828, and by the close of 1833, one

¹⁴⁸. "Braden-Kelly Debate," p. 42.

¹⁴⁹. *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, p. 75 and note 115.

hundred and one of the revelations forming the major part of the book, were received and are of record.

There can be no question as to the authorship of this book. Joseph Smith—under a divine inspiration, as Latter-day Saints believe—dictated these revelations, and in this way he is their author; and they disclose a literary force and beauty far ahead of the Book of Mormon. If any one shall doubt it, let him read and compare sections 20, 42, 76, 84, 88, and 107 of the "Doctrine and Covenants," with the Book of Mormon. Any part of the book would demonstrate what is here claimed, but these sections particularly demonstrate it. Moreover in all published documents in the current periodicals of the Church, those that may be referred respectfully to Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, will disclose the superior excellence in every respect of those produced by the former, over those produced by the latter.

This Spaulding theory, moreover, supposes the necessity of a superior intelligence to Joseph Smith in the production of the Book of Mormon—in the inception of the "Mormon fraud." But will some one explain—for Mr. Schroeder fails us at this point—how it is that Sidney Rigdon, as soon as the Book of Mormon is launched, though having been up to this point the "master spirit" of Mormonism, now suddenly falls into second place in the development of Mormonism, and becomes merely the scribe of the Prophet, as Mr. Schroeder himself points out. It should be remembered that in 1827, the year in which Mr. Schroeder brings them together for the work of collaboration, Rigdon was thirty-four years old, Joseph Smith but twenty-two; and when the Church was organized, Joseph was but twenty-five and Rigdon thirty-seven. With Rigdon's better education (which is granted), how comes it that this man, superior in education and knowledge of the world, and of greater age, consents to occupy second place to Joseph Smith? If Rigdon was the great moving spirit of Mormonism during its incubation, why did he not continue so after the Book of Mormon was printed? The answer is that Sidney Rigdon never was the prophet's superior in talents or even in literary power of expression.

Then, again, in this connection, I call attention to the fact that if the Book of Mormon had been produced as charged by Mr. Schroeder, it would not have been so full of petty errors in grammar and the faulty use of words as is found in the first edition of the Book of Mormon. While entertaining no exalted opinion of the education of either Mr. Spaulding or of Mr. Rigdon, and the works of both are before me, on which to base that judgment, yet I cannot conceive it possible that they, even though but half educated would make such language errors as appear in the first edition. Take for example the following passages from said first edition of the Book of Mormon—speaking of the Urim and Thurmin it says:

“And the things are called interpreters; and no man can look in them, except he be commanded, lest he should look for that he had not ought, and he should perish; * * * but a seer can know of things which has past, and also of things which is to come * * * and hidden things shall come to light, and things which is not known shall be made known by them.” (Page 173).

“Blessed are they who humbleth themselves without being compelled to be humble.” (Page 314).

“Little children doth have words given unto them many times which doth confound the wise and the learned.” (Page 315).

“But they had fell into great errors, for they would not observe to keep the commandments of God.” (Page 310).

Such errors as the foregoing occur frequently throughout the first edition of the Book of Mormon. They are ingrained in it; they are constitutional faults. And while perfectly explicable on the supposition that one unlearned in the grammar of the English language, as confessedly Joseph Smith was, obtaining the thought from the Nephite characters in which the Book of Mormon was written, but left to express said thought in such faulty English as he was master of¹⁵⁰;—yet utterly inexplicable on the supposition that the manuscript from which the Book of Mormon was printed was

150. For an exposition and defense of this theory of the translation of the Book of Mormon, see the author's treatise of the subject, in "Defense of the Faith and the Saints," (1907) pp. 249-311.

written by Solomon Spaulding and revamped by Sidney Rigdon. The errors in grammar and the occasional wrong use of words are just such errors as would be made by Joseph Smith, an unlettered youth, in working out the translation, but just the errors that such educated men as Spaulding and Rigdon would pride themselves in avoiding. I am of the opinion that this consideration alone would be sufficient to convince a candid mind that whoever wrote the Book of Mormon, neither Sidney Rigdon nor Solomon Spaulding ever wrote it, or any part of it.

In this connection I also call attention to the fact that it is utterly impossible that the Book of Mormon should be the Solomon Spaulding story, "Manuscript Found," plus the religious matter supposed to have been supplied by Sidney Rigdon. This is the claim of all Spauldingite theorists, including Mr. Schroeder. It is based upon the assumption of Joseph Smith's lack of knowledge of theological subjects and controversies. If the book, however, was constructed as the Spaulding theorists claim it was, the line of cleavage would be apparent; the necessarily incongruous parts must be discernable; but no critic has yet appeared bold enough to point out which was originally Spaulding's, and which the Rigdon addition. The fact of the matter is there is no line of cleavage; no point at which one ends and the other begins. You might just as well talk about a line of cleavage between what the element of earth and what the element of sunshine has contributed to the coloring of the pansy or the rose, as to try to indicate what is the religious part added to the Book of Mormon by Rigdon, and what the historical part supplied by Spaulding. The religious and historical parts of the Book of Mormon are perfectly fused. They can no more be separated than sun-light and sun-warmth can be separated from our earth's atmosphere. As the sun's rays penetrate and permeate our earth's atmosphere, so the religious elements, incidents and spirit alike, permeate the Book of Mormon—in it they are one and inseparable.

OF THE CONVERSION OF PRATT AND RIGDON

As part of Mr. Schroeder's chain of evidence, by which he hopes to establish the cumulative proofs that Pratt, Rigdon and Joseph Smith connived in palming off upon the world the

Spaulding manuscript as a revelation—the Book of Mormon—he points to discrepences in the published accounts of the suddenness or slowness of Pratt's and Rigdon's conversions. Holding that the accounts of their sudden and miraculous conversion, had to be modified, and, in fact, concealed lest they should lead to the suspicion of connivance, if Rigdon and Pratt should be found giving too ready a credence to the Book of Mormon. Of the variations pointed out in Pratt's conversion it is only necessary to say that they are such variations, so slight and unimportant, that if it is considered that they are made by different persons, or, as in the case of Pratt himself, on widely separated occasions, the variations are the sure witnesses that the account is not a concocted one. In the case of one of the authorities quoted, Lucy Smith, mother of the prophet, and author of the "Life of the Prophet Joseph," Mr. Schroeder should be corrected. He states, following a misapprehension of Orson Pratt's, in order to make his statement of more force, that Lucy Smith's book was written under the supervision of Joseph Smith.¹⁵¹ This is not true, as Lucy Smith did not begin to write her book until after the martyrdom of her son, Joseph. It was in the fall of the year of 1844 that she began her work, and the prophet was killed in June of that year, all of which could have been learned by Mr. Schroeder by consulting the foot notes of the edition of Lucy Smith's book published by the Reorganized Church, in 1880.¹⁵²

The discrepancy as to the time element in the conversion of Sidney Rigdon—as to whether it was two days after Pratt and Cowdery's arrival at Kirtland, or two weeks—may not be as satisfactorily accounted for as in the case of Parley P. Pratt. Still the chief authority for Mr. Schroeder's whole theory of the Spaulding origin of the Book of Mormon favors the longer period for the conversion of Rigdon, since Mr. Howe represents that the "sudden" conversion of Rigdon occurred "after many pretensions to disbelieve it."¹⁵³ Furthermore, in view of the whole question here debated, and the

151. *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, p. 67.

152. "Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet," by Lucy Smith, p. 90, foot notes.

153. "Mormonism Unveiled," Howe, p. 290.

overwhelming evidences educed against the contentions of Mr. Schroeder, the matter of the time it took to convert Sidney Rigdon to Mormonism is of but slight importance.

THE DENIALS OF RIGDON

Mr. Schroeder throughout his argument, intermittently seeks to add force to his "evidence" by saying that Sidney Rigdon never denied this, that, or the other statement though made in his life time. He notices only Rigdon's denial published in the *Boston Journal* in 1839, and represents it as "absolutely the only recorded public denial ever made by Rigdon, though from 1834 to 1876 he was almost continually under the fire of this charge, reiterated in various forms and with varying proofs."¹⁵⁴ Of course, Mr. Schroeder is allowed to speak with some degree of authority upon the anti-Mormon side of this controversy; but for all that there are some things he does not seem to know about Sidney Rigdon's denials and affirmations. It may be that of the several statements to which Mr. Schroeder attaches the remark of Rigdon's silence, Rigdon never saw one of them; and there is one denial made by Mr. Rigdon that Mr. Schroeder has failed to note, made in 1836; and which, since it is general in its character, may be made to cover the whole period in which Mr. Rigdon is said to have made no denial. In the January number of the Latter-day Saints' *Messenger and Advocate*, after denouncing Howe's book and those who advocate it, and referring to Mr. Scott, Mr. Campbell and other professed ministers, he says:

"In order to avoid investigation this brotherhood will condescend to mean, low subterfuges, to which a noble-minded man would never condescend; no, he would suffer martyrdom first. Witness Mr. Campbell's recommendation of Howe's book, while he knows, as well as every person who reads it, that it is a batch of falsehoods."¹⁵⁵

Inasmuch as Howe's book, published in 1834, charges Rigdon's complicity with the whole procedure by which the Book of

154. *American Historical Magazine*, Nov., 1906, p. 527.

155. *Messenger and Advocate*, Jan., 1836, p. 242.



Mormon is alleged to have been produced out of the Spaulding manuscript, and Rigdon above denounces Howe's book as "a batch of falsehoods," we may say there has been in existence ever since January, 1836, Rigdon's denial of the whole Spaulding theory of his complicity with a scheme to deceive men in respect of the Book of Mormon.

However, if that is not sufficient to be convincing, then I wish to produce a well authenticated denial of the most sweeping and convincing nature. John W. Rigdon, the son of Sidney Rigdon, has written a somewhat extended biography of his father which he has filed in its manuscript form in the Church Historian's Office at Salt Lake City. In this narrative he relates his own experience in connection with Mormonism, and his attempt to learn the truth from his father respecting the latter's early connection with the Book of Mormon. He tells of his visit to Utah, in 1863, where he spent the winter among the Mormon people. He was not favorably impressed with their religious life, and came to the conclusion that the Book of Mormon itself was a fraud. He determined in his own heart that if ever he returned home and found his father alive, he would try and find out what he knew of the origin of the Book of Mormon, "although," he adds, "he had never told but one story about it, and that was that Parley P. Pratt and Oliver Cowdery presented him with a bound volume of that book in the year 1830, while he [Sidney Rigdon] was preaching Campbellism at Mentor, Ohio." What John W. Rigdon claims to have seen in Utah, however, together with the fact that Sidney Rigdon had been charged with writing the Book of Mormon, made him suspicious, and he remarks:

"I concluded I would make an investigation for my own satisfaction and find out if I could if he had all these years been deceiving his family and the world, by telling that which was not true, and I was in earnest about it. If Sidney Rigdon, my father, had thrown his life away by telling a falsehood and bringing sorrow and disgrace upon his family, I wanted to know it and was determined to find out the facts, no matter what the consequences might be. I reached home in the fall of 1865, found my father in good health and (he) was very much pleased to see me. As he had not heard anything from me for some



time, he was afraid that I had been killed by the Indians. Shortly after I had arrived home, I went to my father's room; he was there and alone, and now was the time for me to commence my inquiries in regard to the origin of the Book of Mormon, and as to the truth of the Mormon religion. I told him what I had seen at Salt Lake City, and I said to him that what I had seen at Salt Lake had not impressed me very favorably toward the Mormon Church, and as to the origin of the Book of Mormon I had some doubts. You have been charged with writing that book and giving it to Joseph Smith to introduce to the world. You have always told me one story; that you never saw this book until it was presented to you by Parley P. Pratt and Oliver Cowdery; and all you ever knew of the origin of that book was what they told you and what Joseph Smith and the witnesses who claimed to have seen the plates had told you. Is this true? If so, all right; if it is not, you owe it to me and to your family to tell it. You are an old man and you will soon pass away, and I wish to know if Joseph Smith, in your intimacy with him for fourteen years, has not said something to you that led you to believe he obtained that book in some other way than what he had told you. Give me all you know about it, that I may know the truth. My father, after I had finished saying what I have repeated above, looked at me a moment, raised his hand above his head and slowly said, with tears glistening in his eyes: 'My son, I can swear before high heaven that what I have told you about the origin of that book is true. Your mother and sister, (Mrs. Athalia Robinson,) were present when that book was handed to me in Mentor, Ohio, and all I ever knew about the origin of that book was what Parley P. Pratt, Oliver Cowdery, Joseph Smith and the witnesses who claimed they saw the plates have told me, and in all of my intimacy with Joseph Smith he never told me but the one story, and that was that he found it engraved upon gold plates in a hill near Palmyra, New York, and that an angel had appeared to him and directed him where to find it; and I have never, to you or any one else, told but the one story, and that I now repeat to you.' I believed him, and now believe he told me the truth. He also said to me after that that Mormonism was true; that Joseph Smith was a Prophet, and this world would find it out some day.¹⁵⁶

Not only does John W. Rigdon give this valuable statement

156. "Life of Sidney Rigdon," by his son, John W. Rigdon, ms. pp. 188-195. The passages quoted in the text will be found in the "History of the Church," Vol. I, pp. 122-3. Also "Y. M. I. A. Manual" for 1905-6, pp. 485-6.

as to his father's position respecting the Book of Mormon, but he adds the following from his mother:

"After my father's death, my mother, who survived him several years, was in the enjoyment of good health up to the time of her last sickness, she being eighty-six years old. A short time before her death I had a conversation with her about the origin of the Book of Mormon, and wanted to know what she remembered about its being presented to my father. She said to me in that conversation that what my father had told me about the book being presented to him was true, for she was present at the time and knew that was the first time he ever saw it, and that the stories told about my father writing the Book of Mormon were not true. This she said to me in her old age and when the shadows of the grave were gathering around her; and I believe her."¹⁵⁷

THE REAL ORIGIN OF THE SPAULDING THEORY

A word upon the real origin of the Spaulding theory. It did not originate by a "woman preacher,"¹⁵⁸ reading extracts from the Book of Mormon whereupon there was a "spontaneous" recognition of Solomon Spaulding's story "Manuscript Found," and an outburst of popular indignation against this disception, as is usually represented to be the case by those who advocate the Spaulding theory, and by Mr. Schroeder in particular.¹⁵⁹ Especially is Mr. Schroeder insistent upon the "spontaneity" with which the Spaulding work was recognized when the Book of Mormon was publicly read at Conneaut; though to get this "spontaneity" Mr. Schroeder must needs rely upon the Davison statement which he acknowledges Mrs. Davison never wrote, and which he says can have no "evidentiary weight except in those matters where it is plain from the nature of things that she must have been speaking from her own personal knowledge"¹⁶⁰—and in the matter here to be mentioned

157. "History of the Church," Vol. I, p. 123, note.

158. It is claimed that the words "woman preacher" found in the Davison statement was a typographical error (see Clark's "Gleanings by the Way,") and should read "Mormon preacher;" but the typographical error being claimed after it was learned that the Mormon Church at that time had no Mormon preachers, gives it the color of one of those "afterthoughts" which are so frequently seen in this Spaulding theory, that one in spite of himself remains doubtful.

159. *American Historical Magazine*, Jan., 1907, p. 71.

160. *Ibid.* Sept., 1906, p. 394.

Mrs. Davison could have had no personal knowledge at all. So that Mr. Schroeder throws aside his own limitations within which Mrs. Davison's statement is to be given evidentiary weight, in the interest of his desire for the force of "spontaneity" in the recognition of the Book of Mormon as Spaulding's work. According to the Davison statement, then, when the "woman preacher" in a public meeting read extracts from the Book of Mormon, John Spaulding, residing at Conneaut at the time, and present at the meeting,

"recognized perfectly the work of his brother. He was amazed and afflicted that it should have been perverted to so wicked a purpose. His grief found vent in a flood of tears, and he rose on the spot, and expressed to the meeting his sorrow and regret that the writings of his deceased brother should be used for a purpose so vile and shocking. The excitement in New Salem (Conneaut) became so great that the inhabitants had a meeting and deputed Dr. Philastus Hurlburt one of their number to repair to this place (Monson) and to obtain from me (Mrs. [Spaulding] Davison) the original manuscript of Mr. Spaulding."

One marvels that all this was missed by the authors of "Mormonism Unveiled." Dr. Hurlburt was present, too, in that meeting, and was the chief agent and factor in compiling Howe's book. Yet in the statement published in that book, and credited to John Spaulding, there is not a word of this dramatic circumstance—this splendid "spontaneity," so much the joy of Mr. Schroeder. There is no "agony of grief;" no "flood of tears;" no "denunciation on the spot;" no reference to a purpose "vile and shocking;" just a plain statement that he had "recently read the Book of Mormon;" and the claim that he found nearly the same historical matter in it as in his brother's writings; some names that were alike; and that the "Manuscript Found" held to the theory that the American Indians were descendants of the "lost tribes;" evidently supposing that the Book of Mormon held the same theory. Had any such circumstance as described in the Davison statement occurred, it would undoubtedly have appeared in John Spaulding's statement published by Howe five years before this second version was put forth.

But notwithstanding the bad odor of the whole Davison statement, and the violation of his own principle, under which only it is to be considered possessed of evidentiary weight, Mr. Schroeder uses this highly dramatic fiction to introduce his "clinching" evidence of the plagiarism charged against those responsible for the publication of the Book of Mormon.

The true story of the origin of this Spaulding theory is as follows: When Dr. Hurlburt was finally excommunicated from the Church he took to lecturing against the Mormons, holding forth first at Springfield, Erie County, Penn., some distance east of Conneaut. Finally visiting the Jackson settlement (presumably in the same county) he learned, from one of the Jackson's, of Solomon Spaulding, and that he had written a story called "Manuscript Found." "Not that any of these persons," says my authority, who was well acquainted in the Jackson Settlement, also with Dr. Hurlburt, and attended his anti-Mormon meetings in the neighborhood—"not that any of these persons had the most distant idea that his [Spaulding's] novel had ever been converted into the Book of Mormon; or that there was any connection between them."¹⁶¹

It was the conception of Dr. Hurlburt that this Spaulding manuscript could be used in concocting a counter theory for the origin of the Book of Mormon—"a long felt want," by the way, among those who opposed the book and the work growing out of it. With the information he had obtained in the Jackson Settlement, Hurlburt repairs to Kirtland, holds a public meeting, at which there is great joy, and enthusiasm among the anti-Mormons in that vicinity, because of Hurlburt's theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon. One Mr. Newel, a bitter anti-Mormon, promised to advance \$300 for prosecuting the work of identification, and others contributed liberally for the same purpose. Out of this meeting grew the public meeting held later at Conneaut;¹⁶² and which sent Hurlburt upon his journey to Monson, Mass., for Spaulding's manuscript which ultimately he obtained of Mr. Jerome Clark at Hartwicks, New York, on the order of Mrs. (Spaulding) Davison. This manu-

161. "Origin of the Spaulding Story" (1840), B. Winchester, p. 8.

162. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-14.



script Hurlburt brought to E. D. Howe of Plainsville, Ohio, for the forth-coming book, "Mormonism Unveiled." It was a disappointment to these conspirators, as already detailed; and as explained by Hurlburt in a letter to Mrs. Davison, "It did not read as expected, and he should not print it."¹⁶³

In passing, it should be said that Hurlburt never received but the one manuscript. The theory put forth that he obtained two, one the true "Manuscript Found," which it is alleged, he sold to the Mormons,—such is the suspicion of the Spauldings—and a worthless one, the Roman manuscript, now at Oberlin, which he gave to Howe, is one of the many fictions that have grown out of the innumerable surmisings and conjectures associated with the Spaulding theory. Hurlburt himself says on this point, in a signed statment under date of August 19, 1879:

"I do not know whether or not the document I received from Mrs. Davison was Spaulding's Manuscript Found, as I never read it entire, and it convinced me that it was not the Spaulding Manuscript; but whatever it was, Mr. Howe received it under the condition on which I took it from Mrs. Davison—to compare it with the Book of Mormon, and then return it to her. I never received any other manuscript of Spaulding's from Mrs. Davison, or any one else. Of that manuscript I made no other use than to give it, with all my other documents connected with Mormonism, to Mr. Howe. I did not destroy the manuscript nor dispose of it to Jos Smith, or to any other person."¹⁶⁴

This manuscript received by Hurlburt and given to Howe is the only Spaulding manuscript written by Spaulding, making any reference to the antiquities of America. It is the simon-pure and only "Manuscript Found." Against this it is urged by Mr. Schroeder that "no such title is discoverable any where upon or in the body of the manuscript in the Oberlin library."¹⁶⁵ And yet with strange inconsistency he himself a few pages further on admits—"It is even possible that this first manuscript (meaning the one now at Oberlin), may at sometime have

¹⁶³. See Haven-Davison Interview.

¹⁶⁴. "New Light on Mormonism" appendix, p. 260, No. 17. Letter from Hurlburt; also No. 8, another letter from Hurlburt, and No. 16 a letter from Howe.

¹⁶⁵. *American Historical Magazine*, Sept., 1906, p. 386.

been labeled "Manuscript Found."¹⁶⁶ But what is better than any "label" on the manuscript inside or outside; better than any admission of Mr. Schroeder's, is the fact that this manuscript is the one Mr. Spaulding feigned to have found, and that he pretended to translate into English. It is the "found" manuscript, and the only one that Spaulding pretended or feigned to have found. It is the one that Mrs. McKinstry says she had in her hands "many times" at Sabine's after 1816; and that "on the outside of this manuscript were written the words, 'Manuscript Found.'"

Perhaps it was this positive statement that drove Mr. Schroeder to the admission that it is possible that this manuscript at Oberlin may have been so labeled. The descriptions of the Spaulding manuscript called "Manuscript Found," by others, who had knowledge of it, agree very nearly as to its size, and their descriptions fit the manuscript at Oberlin and not at all such a manuscript as would be required to make the Book of Mormon. Thus, Mrs. McKinstry says that the manuscript she had in her hands many times at Sabine's, and that was tied up with some other stories, and had written on the outside of it, "Manuscript Found," made a manuscript about "one inch thick." Mrs. (Spaulding) Davison in the Haven interview says her husband's manuscript was "about one third as large as the Book of Mrmon." (i. e. as would be required to make the Book of Mormon). The Davison statement represents that John Spaulding was perfectly familiar with the work of his brother, "Manuscript Found," "and repeatedly heard the whole of it read," which might be possible with the Spaulding manuscript, which, now that it is printed, makes 112 pages, but scarcely possible respecting a manuscript making a book of about 600 such pages.

This manuscript of Spaulding's has finally been really "found" and published as already detailed; and its publication has resulted in the overthrow of the Spaulding theory of the origin of the Book of Mormon; and that quite in another way than from disclosing the fact that there is no incident, or name, or set of ideas common to the two productions. The

166. *Ibid*, p. 390.

publication of the "Manuscript Found" not only demonstrates that this particular manuscript was not the foundation of the Book of Mormon, but it demonstrates, also, that no other writings of Solomon Spaulding's could possibly be the Book of Mormon. Spaulding's manuscript, as published, makes a pamphlet of some 112 pages, of about 350 words to the page, enough matter to give a clear idea of his literary style. I am sure that no person, having any literary judgment will think it possible for the author of "Manuscript Found" to be the author of the Book of Mormon.

Composition in writers becomes individualized as distinctly as the looks, or appearance, or character, of separate individuals; and they no more write in several styles than individuals impersonate different characters. True, by special efforts this latter may be done to a limited extent by a change of tone, costume and the like, but underneath these impersonations is to be seen the real individual; and so with authors. One may sometimes affect a light, and sometimes a serious vein, in prose and poetry. He may imitate a solemn scriptural style even, or the diction of some Greek or Roman author, but underneath it all will be seen the individuality of the writer from which he cannot separate himself any more than he can separate himself from his true form, features, or character. Since we have in this "Manuscript Found" enough of Mr. Spaulding's style to determine its nature, if this manuscript of his was used either as the foundation or the complete work of the Book of Mormon, we should be able to detect Spauldingisms in it; identity of style would be apparent; but these things are entirely absent from every page of the Book of Mormon. Mr. Rice, in whose possession the Spaulding manuscript was found in 1884, does not over-state the matter when he says: "I should as soon think that the Book of Revelation was written by the author of Don Quixote, as that the writer of this manuscript was the author of the Book of Mormon." And again, he is right when he says: "It is unlikely that any one who wrote so elaborate a work as the Mormon Bible, would spend his time in getting up so shallow a story as this"—i. e. the Spaulding Story.

THE MOTIVE FOR PUBLISHING THE BOOK OF MORMON

It must be said for Mr. Schroeder that his theory of the motive prompting the publication of the Book of Mormon is quite in harmony with his theory of its origin. For it is fitting that a thing founded in fraud should—and it very likely would—have the “greed of gain” as the “dynamics of the scheme;” and that “love of gold, not God,” would be the moving cause of action. The only point at which Mr. Schroeder breaks down in his theory of the motive, is just where he breaks down in his theory of origin—namely, in the proof.

The excerpts from the revelations quoted by Dr. Schroeder fail as proofs for his assumption. He ranges all through the numerous revelations given to the Church from 1830 to 1841. Of the thirteen excerpts quoted by him two only have any bearing upon the Book of Mormon; and these two are from a revelation to Martin Harris, who had covenanted with Joseph Smith and with the publisher of the book, Mr. Grandin, that he would pay for printing it. Yet when the time came to make good his plighted word, he hesitated; whereupon the word of the Lord came, as quoted by Mr. Schroeder: “Impart a portion of thy property; yea, even part of thy lands, and all save the support of thy family.” So far Mr. Schroeder quotes. The very next paragraph (35) of the revelation goes on—“Pay the debt thou has contracted with the printer. Release thyself from bondage”—(i. e. the bondage of debt). Again Mr. Schroeder quotes (verse 26) “I command that thou shalt not covet thine own property.” The full paragraph is: “And again I command thee, that thou shalt not covet thine own property, but impart it freely to the printing of the Book of Mormon, which contains the truth and the word of God.”¹⁶⁷ Just wherein these passages, which are the only ones out of those quoted from the “Doctrine and Covenants” that bear at all on the Book of Mormon—just wherein they bear witness to the “greed of gain” being the motive that prompted the publication of the book; or how they sustain the idea that “love of gold, not God.” was the “dynamics of the scheme,” I fail to see.

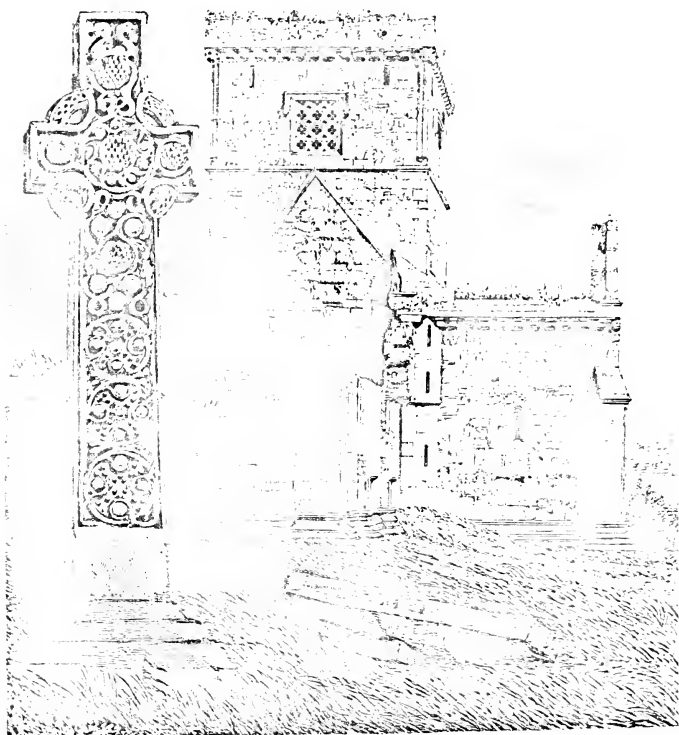
167. “Doctrine and Covenants,” Sec. 19: 34, 35, 36.

As for the rest of the passages quoted by Mr. Schroeder, they fall into two classes: first, those that relate to the consecration of properties to the Church; and second, those that command that provisions be made for the sustenance of Joseph Smith and others who were devoting their energies to the work of the Lord. In relation to the first class it will make matters clear for the reader to know that the Saints were called upon to recognize this principle: The earth is the Lord's. He created it. It is his, by virtue of proprietorships; consequently all that man holds, of the world's wealth, is held as a stewardship under God. To give visible recognition to this truth, the Saints were commanded in Missouri to consecrate their property to the Lord through his servants, and receive back a stewardship as from the Lord; and this in order that the great truth—coming now to be recognized by the best Christian thought of the age as the proper attitude of mind for the believer in God, in respect of his material possessions—might once for all be established as a doctrine of the Church, emphasized by this visible act of consecration.

As to the second class of quotations directing that provisions shall be made for the material needs of Joseph Smith and his family—is it necessary to argue at this late day what Paul seems to have settled long ago, *viz*: "They which minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple. * * * Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel."¹⁶⁸ Is not the justice of this principle universally recognized? I say Mr. Schroeder breaks down at the production of proof for his theory as to motive. And his play upon the changes in this respect has but the sound of brass when applied to Joseph Smith personally or to all the leaders of the Mormon Church from its inception. Never have a people been more blessed with unselfish leaders than the Latter-day Saints. Men blessed with divine insight and power have given their services, practically without remuneration, for the welfare of their people. They have labored in season and out of season for them. They have given not only a teaching service, tending to make the truth clear, but they have

168. "Corinthians" 9: 13, 14.







given freely of their business ability, executive and judicial abilities. Men of statesman-like quality of character have devoted their lives to their people, and practicably without earthly reward, and many of them, the most of them, in fact, have died poor in this world's goods, but rich in the consciousness of service for fellowman well performed.

I write these words from the midst of a people, who, when they read them, will think of hundreds of men who have lived and wrought out life's service among them, in the very spirit here described. "Greed of gain" furnish "the dynamics" of the Mormon scheme? "Love of gold, not of God," the motive force in Mormonism? "A desire for money" "the inspiring cause of every act of the Mormon Prophet, the very divinity that moulded his thoughts and revelations, and brought into being Mormon's books!"¹⁶⁹ Nonsense, Mr. Schroeder; you have studied human nature as well as Mormonism to little purpose if you really think so. Joseph Smith was loved by his people to the verge of idolization. He won and kept that love of theirs to the day of his death. He had the satisfaction of seeing one of his great prophecies fulfilled—a prophecy given out from a prison cell, in 1839, and when his fortunes were fallen to their lowest point—when his enemies seemed to triumph, and traitors were arrayed against him—then came the assurance from God—"Thy people shall never be turned against thee by the testimony of traitors."¹⁷⁰ And they never were, either before his death, or since. "Greed of gain," selfishness; "Love of gold, not God," does not produce these results. Selfishness never wins or holds hearts. Only a life that pours out itself in floods of unselfish service for others wins and holds affections. Such was the life of Joseph Smith, such the lives of Mormon leaders.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

And now my task draws towards its close. My purpose in this paper, in the main, has been merely to refute the theory, together with the alleged evidences and arguments of Mr. Schroeder. My method has been to refute him largely out of the

169. *American Historical Magazine*, May, 1907, p. 221.

170. "Doctrine and Covenants," Sec. 122.

material and authorities which he himself has introduced. And of course this has kept the discussion of the origin of the Book of Mormon within narrow limits. This paper has been more in the nature of a rejoinder than anything else to Mr. Schroeder's reply to the theory set forth by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for the origin of the Book of Mormon.

By this undesigned order of the discussion and by its necessary limitations, the reader is at the disadvantage of not having immediately before him the theory of the divine origin of the Book of Mormon, sustained by the strong array of evidences and arguments, that may be marshalled in its support.¹⁷¹ But it will help in forming a right conclusion as to the merits of this discussion if what is here suggested be held in mind, namely: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints sets forth the claim of a divine origin for the Book of Mormon, sustained by special witnesses, whom God raised up to testify of that origin; sustained also, as that Church believes, by a world of evidences, both external and internal. To this Mr. Schroeder has offered a counter-theory of origin, the "Spaulding Theory", to which I have offered this rejoinder. My effort has had no higher aim than this, believing that nothing more was required of me under the circumstances. If my paper shall prove to be, as I think it must, a successful rejoinder; if it exhibits how inherently weak, and foolish this Spaulding theory is, even when most skillfully set forth; if it exhibits the tissue of falsehood and of malice, of which that theory is made up; and the bitterness and hatred in which it had its inception; and exposes the dishonest sophistry by which that theory has been supported,—I shall be content.

B. H. ROBERTS.

Salt Lake City, Jan., 1909.

¹⁷¹. For an extended treatise on this subject see the writer's "New Witness for God," published as Young Men's Manuals, Nos. 7, 8 and 9, 1903-1906.

SKETCHES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

IN the May and July numbers of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE will be the first of a series of interesting historical articles from the pen of the Reverend Andrew M. Sherman of Morristown, N. J., author of "Historic Morristown," "Life of Captain Jeremiah O'Brien," "Phil Cerver: A Romance of the War of 1812," and other works dealing with our early national life. Other papers of like character will follow in subsequent numbers of the magazine. All will be well illustrated.

THE WICK HOUSE, MORRIS COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

THE Wick House (or "Wick Hall"), as it was sometime referred to during the Revolution, built about 1750, is still standing, in a good state of preservation, four miles southwest of Morristown, N. J. It is particularly famous because of the well-authenticated fact that in the early part of 1781, a saddle horse was for several days kept in one of its spare bed chambers to prevent its being taken by some intoxicated American soldiers from the owner, "Tempe" Wick, the daughter of Major Henry Wick, the proprietor of the extensive farm which then comprised about 1,400 acres. The rare historical environment of the Wick House has added greatly to its fame. It will be described in the May number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

CAPTAIN JOHN O'BRIEN, MACHIAS, MAINE

CAPTAIN JOHN O'BRIEN, of Machias, Me., was one of six stalwart brothers—Jeremiah, Gideon, John, William, Dennis and Joseph—all of whom assisted in the capture of the British armed schooner Margaretta, in Machias (Maine) Bay, on the twelfth of June, 1775. This was the first sea-fight, and the first American victory of the Revolution, and the brilliancy of the achievement sent a thrill of hope through the colonies. John O'Brien, like his brothers Jeremiah and William, subsequently engaged in privateering, and he rendered splendid service to the colonies during the seven years war for independence. The forthcoming article will be a sketch of this famous privateersman and it will appear in the July number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

BOOK OF BRUCE

BY LYMAN HORACE WEEKS

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

CASTLES AND CHURCHES

DURING the more than nine centuries that have elapsed since the Bruce stock was established in Scotland it has, both in its main line and in its collateral branches, been identified with nearly all the famous historical places of the Northern Country. In successive generations its representatives owned castles which are now in ruins, while memories of them and of their ancestors are indissolubly attached to such religious and national shrines as Iona, Dunfermline, and others. An account of some of the most important of these castles and churches reveals how large a part the Bruces had in the life of their times and how tradition and romance have lovingly dwelt upon whatever the Bruce name has enriched in historical association.

IONA

No island in the waters that roll upon the coast of Scotland has been more renowned than Iona, the ancient burial place of the Scottish kings before the time of Malcolm Canmore, the royal ancestor of the Bruces. As Dr. Johnson expressed it in one of his letters it is:

“The illustrious island which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roaming barbarians derived the benefit of knowledge and the blessings of religion. . . . That man is little to be envied . . . whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona.”

Before the sixth century the island was a great centre of druidism. About the year 563 the Irish saint Columba emigrated thither and upon that spot set up the cross and propagated the Christian faith.

Columba, who made Iona famous and sacred, was born in 521, the son of Felim, who was a son of Neill, the great king of Ireland. He was highly educated and travelled widely. Before he was twenty-eight years of age he built churches in Ireland and then sailed away from his home to carry his religion to the lands of the Picts. King Brudius granted him possession of Iona and there he established himself to preach and teach the doctrines of Christianity. It was not long before Iona became celebrated throughout the civilized world. The institutions there planted and perfected were the foundations of the church in that part of the world, and the library of Columba was known as one of the richest in literary treasures in that age. The name of the island, Icolmkill, or cell of Columba, was derived from its famous monastic establishments. Relics which still exist indicate the former greatness of the place. In an enclosure adjoining St. Oran's Chapel were buried sixty-one kings; forty-eight Scottish, four Irish, eight Norwegian, and one French.

Paulus Jovius, writing in the sixteenth century, said of Iona:

"In the church of Iona there are preserved very ancient annals and parchment rolls, containing laws and charters signed by the kings and sealed with their effigies on seals of gold or wax. It is also reported that in the same library there are ancient works of Roman history, from which we may expect the remaining decades of Titus Livius, which, indeed, we have lately heard, letters from Scotland have promised to Francis, King of France."¹

In 1595 the sanctuary of Iona was quaintly thus described by another historian:

"Within the isle of Columkill there is ane sanctuary or kirkzaird, callit in Erische Religioran, (the cemetery of St. Ouran who was one of the companions of St. Columbus at the foundation of the monastery) quhilk is a very fair kirkzaird and weill biggit about with staine and lyme. Into this sanctuary there is

1. "Descriptione Britanniae," by Paulus Jovius, Venetia, 1548.



three tombes of staine, formed like little chapelis, with ane braid gray marble or quhin staine in the gavill of ilk ane of the tombes. In the stain of the ain tombe there is written in Latin letters, 'Tumulus Regum Scotiæ' that is, the tombe or grave of the King of Scotts. Within this tombe according to our Scotts and Erische cronikells there layes forty-eight crowned Scotts Kings, through the whilk this ile hes been richlie dotat be the Scotts Kings, as we have said. The tombe on the south syde forsaide, hes this inscription 'Tumulus Regum Hybernæ,' that is, the tombe of the Irland Kinges; for we have in our auld Erische cronikells, that ther wes foure Irland Kinges eirdit in the said tombe. Upon the north side of our Scotts tombe the inscription bears 'Tumulus Regum Norwegie,' that is, the tomb of the Kings of Norroway, in the quhilk tombe, as we find in our ancient Erische cronikells, ther layes eight Kings of Norroway, and also we find that Coelus, King of Norroway, commandit his noblis to take his bodey and burey it at Colmkill if it chanced him to die in the Isles, but he wes so discomfitit that ther remained not so maney of his armey as wald burey him ther; therfor he was eirded in Kyle, after he stroke ane field against the Scotts, and wes vanquist be them. Within this sanctuary also lyes the maist part of the Lordis of the Isles, with their lineage, Twa Clan-Lynes (Clan Lean) with their lynage, M'Kynnon and M'Guarrie with their lynages, with sundrie utheris inhabitants of the hail isles; because this sanctuary wes wont to be the sepulture of the best men of the Isles and also of our Kings, as we have said, because it was the maist honerabil and ancient place that was in Scotland in thair dayes, as we reid."²

SCONE

The town of Scone in the sheriffdon of Perth is situated on the north bank of the river Tay near the centre of Scotland. Its name in the Gothic, is Skorn and in the Anglo-Saxon, Scon, meaning beautiful. It was famous particularly for the abbey that was founded there by King David I. for the monks of St. Augustine. Some historians assert that a religious house was established here for the Culdees monks by King Alexander I. During the life of that monarch the place was occasionally the royal residence and under the monks it was a trading centre,

2. "Description of the Western Isles;" by Donald Munro, High Dean of the Isles.

with customs payable to the monastery. The abbey wall enclosed about twelve acres of land. In the Reformation the abbey and the king's palace were destroyed.

"So was that abay and plaice appointed to sockage: in doing whereof they tuk no long deliberation, bot committed the holle to the merciment of fyre, guhairat no small number of us war offendit."³

At Scone was held the earliest ecclesiastical council of Scotland of which there is any authentic record. In the Pictish Chronicle it is said:

"Constantine, the son of Ed, and Kellach bishop, together with the Scots, solemnly vowed to observe the laws and discipline of faith, the rights of the churches and of the gospel, on the Hill of Credulity, near the royal city of Scone. Henceforward this hill deserved this name, *i. e.* (Collis Credulitatis) of the Hill of Credulity."

Few traces of the old monastery have come down to modern times. The contemporaneous church and buildings are of the seventeenth century and later. Many memories of the hapless Stewarts cling to the place. Queen Mary was often there and the king's room where James I. and perhaps Charles II. slept on the eve of their coronations is still shown.

Scone was particularly endeared to the Scots as the ancient place of coronation of the Scottish kings. There was the famous coronation stone, or stone of destiny, seated on which the monarchs received the crown and sceptre. It is a small block of red sandstone imbedded with pebbles and, as the royal emblem of Scotland, was always regarded with the deepest veneration.

According to ancient traditions the history of this stone went back to the Tuatha de Danaans, the Scythian family that invaded Ireland, immediately preceding the Milesian conquest, coming from Persia or Greece. They were skillful far above the native people about them and for that reason were regarded as possessed of magic powers. It is told of them that when they came to Ireland they brought with them a remarkable stone

3. Knox's "Historie," p. 146.

called *lia fail*, "the stone of fate or destiny;" and from this Ireland received the name *Inis Fail* or *Island of Destiny*.

"This *lia fail* was held in the highest veneration; and sitting on it the ancient monarchs of Ireland both in Pagan and in Christian times were inaugurated at Tara."

It is stated that whenever a legitimate king of the Milesian race was inaugurated the stone would emit a peculiar sound, an effect produced probably by some mechanical contrivance of the clever druids.

One account has it that in the beginning of the sixth century Fergus MacEarea, who had become king of Scotland, requested the Irish monarch Murtoigh MacEarea, his brother, to send him the *lia fail* to be used on the occasion of his inauguration so that he might have security to his throne in accord with the ancient prophecy that the Scotie race would continue to rule as long as this stone should be in its possession. Another account says that the stone was not brought to Scotland until the ninth century, when Aidus Finliath, king of Ireland, sent it to his father-in-law Kenneth McAlpin, king of all Scotland. The *lia fail* was preserved with great care and veneration for centuries, first in the monastery of St. Columkill, on Iona Island; afterwards at Dunstaffnage in Argyleshire, the first royal seat of the Scottish kings of the Irish race, and later at Scone, to which place it was taken by King Kenneth and where it was preserved until 1296, when King Edward I. carried it away to England with other regal appurtenances and deposited it in Westminster Abbey. -

This stone of destiny has been Latinized as *saxum fatale* and has been called by some writers Jacob's stone, from the tradition that it is part of the stone called Jacob's pillow at Bethel, as related in the book of Genesis. The stone is mentioned by Boethius and other early Scottish historians and the following Irish verse concerning it is classic:

"Cineadh Scuit, saor an fhine,
Mun budh breag an fhaisdine,
Mar a ffuighid an Liagh Fail
Dlighid flaitheas do ghabhail."

"If Fate's decrees be not announced in vain,
Where'er this stone is found the Scots shall reign."

GLAMIS

Associated as it is with the tragedy of Macbeth, Glamis castle, in Forfarshire, probably enjoys a wider fame than almost any other building in Scotland. The present structure preserves little likeness to that which existed in the time of Duncan, and indeed changes have been made in it since the poet Gray described it, in 1765, as follows:

"Rising proudly out of what seems a great and thick wood of tall trees, with a cluster of hanging towers on top . . . the house from the height of it, the greatness of its mass, the many towers atop, and the spread of its wings has really a very singular and striking appearance."

Rebuilt and altered as it has been, it is even now one of the noblest buildings of its kind in the Land of the Thistle, architecturally dating from the fifteenth century and since. Fordun and other chroniclers tell that in the vicinity of Glamis Malcolm II. was attacked and mortally wounded in 1034, and that his assassins were drowned by breaking through the ice as they attempted to cross the neighboring loch of Forfar. The earliest proprietary notices of Glamis show it to have been a thanedom, and its lands regal domains. In 1372, King Robert II. by charter granted it to Sir John Lyon, designating it as "our lands of the thainage of Glammis."

Sir Walter Scott spent a night in the castle in 1793, and he thus concluded a curious account of his sensations on the occasion.

"In spite of the truth of history, the whole night scene in Macbeth's castle rushed at once upon me, and struck my mind more forcibly than even when I have seen its terrors represented by John Kemble and his inimitable sister."

DUNFERMLINE

Dunfermline in Fifeshire, some fifteen miles from Edinburgh, and the burial place of King Robert Bruce, is indissolubly associated with the memory of the kings of Scotland from the time

of Malcolm Canmore to the days of the Bruces. The town is beautifully situated on the brow of a gentle eminence that overlooks the surrounding country and the waters of Forth. For centuries it was the favorite royal residence, and in modern times it has been the home of the earls of Elgin, descendants of King Bruce. Its antiquities are many, but of the ancient tower of King Malcolm III. only the ruin remains, two low broken walls. The tower was probably built about the middle of the eleventh century. Fordun, canon of Aberdeen, the early Scottish historian, thus describes it in giving an account of the marriage of King Malcolm III.

“The nuptials were magnificently celebrated A. D. 1070 at Dunfermline which the reigning king then held pro oppide” (his town or fortified residence) “for that place was naturally well defended in itself, being surrounded by a very thick wood, and fenced with precipitous rocks, in the middle of which was a pleasant level ground, also strengthened by rock and water, so that this might be supposed to be said of it:

“Non homini facilis, vox deunda feris.

“Not easy for man, scarcely to be approached by wild beasts.””

This tower or castellated palace was not a spacious edifice nor does it appear to have been sumptuous. Still, here the famous monarch, ancestor of Robert Bruce, lived with his queen, Margaret, daughter of Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, king of England. Not far away from the hill on which the tower stands is St. Margaret's cave, where the Queen was accustomed to retire for her secret devotion. The tower is referred to in the ballad of Sir Patrick Spens:

“The King sits in Dunfermline toun
Drinken the blood red wine,
Whare sall I find a skeely skipper
Will sail this ship o' mine.”

A short distance from the tower are the ruins of a palace that was once the residence of the sovereigns of Scotland. Only a small portion of the wall, two hundred and fifty feet in length and sixty feet in height, supported by buttresses, now remains.

4. “Scotichronicon,” by John Fordun.



At the western end is a high window, completely covered with ivy, and a chimney of the room in which, tradition says, the ill-fated Stewart monarch, Charles I., was born. Subterranean passages and crypts are still intact. The palace was probably built before 1100. The last monarch who occupied it was Charles II., in 1650.

Most interesting of the antiquities of Dunfermline are the ruins of the old abbey which was destroyed at the time of the Reformation. It was built "at great expense." John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, an old historian, wrote of it as "*templum, in civitate Dunfermilingensi magnifice suis impensis extructum, sanctiss. Trinitate dicavit.*" Turgot relates that "it was enriched with numerous ornaments, vessels of solid gold, and an inestimable crucifix, formed of gold, silver, and precious stones." Originally built by Malcolm Canmore, additions were made from time to time by the successors of that monarch, particularly Alexander I., David I., Alexander II., and James VI.

The monastery was dedicated to Margaret, the queen of Malcolm Canmore, who died in 1093. Queen Margaret was canonized in 1249 and on June 13 in the following year the bones of the sainted one were transferred from the place where they were originally deposited "in the rude altar of the Kirk of Dunfermline" to the choir of the abbey church. The young king, Alexander III., with his mother and a large company of nobles and clergy were present to witness the ceremony. The remains were placed in a silver sarcophagus, which, the chroniclers state, was adorned with precious stones; and then a miracle occurred. King Malcolm had been buried beside his queen, and at first all the strength of many men were not sufficient to remove the relics of the sainted Margaret from the spot until those of her husband had first been lifted and deposited in the place where hers were destined to lie. Wyntoun in his *Cronykil* tells of this miracle:

"With all thare powere and thare slycht,
Her body to rays thai had na mycht.
Na lift her anys owt of that plas,
Quhar sho that tyme lyand was,
For all thare devotyownys
Prayeris and yret orysownys,

That the persownys gaddryd there
 Dyd in devot manere:
 Quhell fyrst thai tuk up the body
 Of hyr lord that lay thereby
 And bare it bene into the quere
 Lysrly syne in fayre manere
 Her cors thai tuk up and bare ben,
 And thame enteryd togyddyr then.
 Swa trowd thai all than gadryd thare
 Quhat honour till hyr lord scho bare."

Following the reinterment of the remains of St. Margaret and her husband, the abbey became the burial place of the royal family of Scotland. It succeeded in this respect the island of Iona, which for generations had been the ancient place of sepulture of the Scottish monarchs. Besides Malcolm, his queen, Margaret and his son Prince Edward, there were interred: King Edgar, King Alexander I., King David II., King Malcolm IV., King Alexander III. and his first queen, Margaret; King Robert Bruce and his queen, Elizabeth; Prince David and Prince Alexander, sons of Alexander III.; Mathildis, daughter of King Robert Bruce; Malcolm, earl of Atholl, and his countess; Annabella Drummond, queen of King Robert III. and mother of King James I.; the earls of Elgin, and others of the royal Bruce blood.

Of Queen Margaret, Sir Walter Scott wrote:

"She did all in her power, and influenced as far as possible the mind of her husband to relieve the distresses of her Saxon countrymen, of high or low degree, assuaged their afflictions, and was jealous in protecting those who had been involved in the ruin which the battle of Hastings brought on the royal house of Edward the Confessor. The gentleness and mildness of temper proper to this amiable woman, probably also the experience of her prudence and good sense, had great weight with Malcolm, who, though preserving a portion of the ire and ferocity belonging to the king of a wild people, was far from being insensible to the suggestions of his amiable consort. He stooped his mind to hers on religious matters, adorned her favorite books of devotion with rich bindings, and was often seen to kiss and pay respect to the volumes which he was unable to read."

King Robert Bruce was buried in the choir of the church be-

fore the high altar. His body was embalmed and a rich tomb or cenotaph was erected above the spot. The tomb was made in Paris, of white marble in Gothic work and richly gilt. Barbour wrote:

“And quhen thai lang thus sorrowit had,
Thai haiff had him to Dunferlyne:
And hym solemply erdyt syne.
In a fayr tomb, intill the quer.”

Nearly five hundred years passed and the gilded marble tomb had disappeared, perhaps purposely destroyed, or overwhelmed in the ruins of the church. Workmen, digging for the foundations of the new church in 1878, discovered a large leaden coffin which, upon official inspection, was found to contain the skeleton of Scotland's great king. After examination the remains were reinterred in a sealed coffin, on the spot where they had been found, and there they now rest.

The abbey of Dumfermline was the meeting place of the Scottish nobles during the long warfare between the Baliols and the Bruces and in the revolts against the English. It thus fell under the marked disfavor of King Edward. When the English king journeyed to Scotland in 1303 he spent the winter, from December until the following May, in the abbey, where he was magnificently entertained. When he and his court departed in the spring his soldiers set fire to the building, either in recklessness or under instructions from the king, who has been accused of thus venting his spite against those whom he considered his rebellious subjects. Again during the same war the buildings were set on fire by the English troops, but the church was saved. In the Reformation the abbey was a special object of disfavor of the covenanters. Lindsay of Pittscottie, in chronicling the events of May, 1530, briefly and emphatically says:

Upoun the 28 day thairof, the wholl lordis and baronis that war on this syd of Forth, passed to Stirling, and be the way, hest down the Abbey of Dumferling.”

KILDRUMMIE

One of the finest and strongest fortresses belonging to the Bruces was Kildrummie castle, which came to the family in the

thirteenth century by the marriage of Isabel, daughter of David earl of Huntingdon, to Robert Bruce, the fourth baron of Annandale. It was a home much loved by the Bruces, but in a later generation it was the scene of disaster to Queen Elizabeth, consort of King Robert Bruce, and the Scotch patriots who surrounded her.

Ruins of this stronghold remain in the Curgarff mountains in the district of Garioch in Aberdeenshire, on the north bank of the river Don, about forty miles from the sea. The structure stood on an eminence, one side of which is washed by the Don, while two other sides are defended by deep ravines. Located in an obscure spot amid scenery wild and gloomy, it seems to have been a stronghold of the old royal domain of Garvyach, the appanage of David, earl of Huntingdon.

The castle was built by Gilbert de Moravia, of the Scottish Murray family, Bishop of Caithness, in the time of King Alexander II. According to tradition, originally it was merely one great circular tower or donjon, having five floors or stories. When the castle in its fulness was completed this formed the western corner and was called the Snow Tower. It is said to have been one hundred and fifty feet high, but only the merest vestige of it now remains. Subsequent to its establishment the fortress was enlarged into an irregular pentagon, surrounding a spacious court and defended by six other towers of unequal magnitude and dissimilar in form. Four of these protected the four angles of the pentagon, while two others were placed in the western face or curtain, for the security of the barbican which occupied the space between them.

The intervening buildings connecting the several towers seem to have been only two stories high, and the walls are not more than four feet thick, of small irregular stones. The western wall, in which was the barbican or entrance gate, was reared on the western face or curtain, for the security of the barbican which occupied the space between them.

The area of the castle was nearly four acres. In addition to the site of a pit-well, a subterranean vault or passage may be traced within the ruins. This passage opens to the bank on the northern side of the castle and probably served as a sally port.

By means thereof the wife, daughter, and sisters of Bruce the king, with their escort and attendants, are said to have made their escape when they fled to the sanctuary of Tain in Rosshire, from which they were delivered into the hands of the English by the earl of Ross.

In the middle of the western wall the remains of the chapel still may be distinguished by the lancet form of its altar windows, consisting of three long narrow slits. During the siege of the castle this chapel was used as a magazine of forage for the horses belonging to the garrison. The besiegers despaired of success until, throwing a piece of red-hot iron through the window, they set fire to the forage and literally smoked out the defenders.

LOCHMABEN

Lochmaben castle in Dumfrieshire, where Robert Bruce the Competitor, grandfather of King Robert Bruce, lived and where he died and was buried, was one of the hereditary castles of the Bruce family. In its time it was the most powerful fortress on the border. The original structure was on the hill near the town of Lochmaben, but the present castle was built in the thirteenth century by Bruce the Competitor. Commanding the entrance to the southwest of Scotland, it was the subject of many contests during the border warfare. It was captured by King Edward I. in 1298 and he strengthened its works. When Robert Bruce fled from England before taking the field for the crown of Scotland, he first sought refuge there. After his success he bestowed it on Randolph, earl of Moray. John Baliol handed it over to King Edward III., but it was besieged and retaken by King David II. in 1346. When Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway, expelled the English in 1384, it fell into the Douglas hands and remained there until 1455, when it was sequestrated as a royal possession.

The castle stands on a spit of flat ground running into Lochmaben. By a wide ditch cut across the neck of the peninsula the site could be converted into an island about sixteen acres in extent. Three other ditches protected it. Access was most likely by boats that came into the great ditch or moat, which could be

amply defended from the battlements that overlooked. The walls were high and solid and well provided with parapets and defences, but they are now reduced to mere shapeless fragments, having been used in recent generations as a quarry for building materials.

TURNBERRY

Turnberry castle in Carrick, which Marjory, countess of Carrick, brought to the house of Bruce, was one of Scotland's most noted fortresses for several centuries. Turnberry Point on the coast of Ayrshire, between Ayr and Girvan, is a rock projecting into the sea, the top about eighteen feet above high-water mark. Upon this rock was built the castle. Only a few feet high of the wall next to the sea are now standing. The length of the structure was about sixty feet and its breadth fifty-five feet. It was surrounded by a ditch, but that was filled up many years ago. The top of the ruin, rising some forty or fifty feet above the water, has a magnificent appearance viewed from the sea. Around the castle was a level plain about two miles in extent, forming the park.

To Turnberry King Robert Bruce longingly looked several times during his troublous career. Once when he made a descent upon the coast of Ayr he was, according to tradition, able to gain possession of the stronghold. Lord Clifford and Lord Lennox held the castle for the English, and the Bruce, with his impetuous brother Edward, Lord Douglas, and other followers, were waiting an opportunity at the Isle of Arran, which had been won by Douglas from Sir John Hastings in 1306. There he made ready to cross to the mainland of Carrick. Cuthbert, a trusty retainer, was sent over into Carrick to sound the people and see if they were favorable to the cause of Bruce. If he found that they were willing to join the cause of the king, it was arranged that he should start a signal light on the shore where it could be seen from the Isle of Arran. At nightfall the light eagerly looked for gleamed over the water and the impatient watchers hastened to sail across the bay to lead the expected uprising. Upon landing they found Cuthbert, who said that he had given no signal be-

cause he had learned that the Bruce vassals of Carrick could not be depended upon to support their lord. In this emergency and threatened with discovery, it was almost impossible to retreat. Prudence gave way to the dictates of valor. Regardless of the support of the people of the district, Bruce and Douglas with their little band made an impetuous and desperate attack upon the castle and were successful in driving out its defenders.

The unexpected lights that appeared around Turnberry that night, as though beckoning the Bruce on to death or to repossess his ancestral home, have been explained by prosaic matter-of-fact folk as the work of the brush burners at their occupation. Sentiment and superstition have attached to the incident, however. Sir Walter Scott, in "The Lord of the Isles," refers to the belief of the common people of Ayrshire that the fires were really the work of supernatural power, unassisted by any mortal being; and it is said that for several centuries the flame rose yearly at the same hour of the same night of the year that the king first saw it from the turrets of Brodick castle. The place where the fire is said to have appeared has been called Bogie's Brae beyond the remembrance of man.

The description of Bruce's descent upon Carrick is one of the most beautiful parts of Scott's poem:

"They gain'd the Chase, a wide domain
Left for the castle's sylvan reign,
(Seek not the scene—the axe, the plough,
The boor's dull fence have marred it now,)
But then, soft swept in velvet green.
The plain with many a glade between,
Whose tangled alleys far invade
The depth of the brown forest shade.
Here the tall fern obscures the lawn,
Fair shelter for the sportive fawn;
There, tufted close with copsewood green,
Was many a swelling hillock seen;
And all around was verdure meet
For pressure of the fairies' feet.
The glossy holly loved the park,
The yew-tree lent it shadow dark,
And many an old oak, worn and bare,
With all its shiver'd boughs was there.

Lovely, between, the moonbeams fell,
 On lawn and hillock, glade and dell.
 The gallant monarch sigh'd to see
 These glades so loved in childhood free,
 Bethinking that, as outlaw now,
 He ranged beneath the forest bough.

And from the donjon tower on high,
 The men of Carrick may descry
 Saint Andrew's cross in blazonry,
 Of silver waving wide!
 The Bruce hath won his father's hall!

'Great God! once more my sire's abode
 Is mine,—behold the floor I trod,
 In tottering infancy!
 And there the vaulted arch whose ground
 Echoed my joyous shout and bound,
 In boyhood, and that rung around
 To youth's unthinking glee.'⁵

STIRLING

Robert Chambers, in his "Pictures of Scotland," wrote: "The time when there was no Stirling castle is not known in Scottish annals." The fortification is of great antiquity and the date of its origin is so remote that it has been forgotten. The ancient inhabitants had a fortress on Stirling rock, and the old chronicles say that it was held by Agricola during the Roman invasion and made an easily defensible headquarters for the Roman legions. Early monkish writers called it *Mons Dolorum*, or Mountain of Grief, and it was also named *Styreling*, or Hill of Strife, both appellations clearly indicating its purpose and its character. After the Romans had withdrawn Stirling formed part of the Pictish province of *Forterin* or *Forternn*. When Egfrid, the Anglian king, overran the country in the seventh century, it is supposed that he occupied Stirling, which was still a frontier or fortress as late as the time when Kenneth the Hardy led his followers across the Scots Water or Forth and destroyed it.

After King Donald was taken prisoner by the Northumbrians,

5. "The Lord of the Isles," by Sir Walter Scott, Canto VI.

he yielded the territory around Stirling as ransom, and the Northumbrians rebuilt the castle and strongly garrisoned it. For nearly a quarter of a century it was in possession of the North Saxons and then it was returned to the Scots. In the tenth century it was a rendezvous of the troops under King Kenneth III. when the country was invaded by the Danes; and thence he marched to the battle of Longarty. It was not however until Forteviot, Scone, and Abernethy ceased to be royal residences or capitals that Stirling possessed a castle worthy the name.

In the reign of King Alexander I., there was a fairly well-built fortress on the rock, and that king founded the first chapel within its walls. When the successor of Alexander ascended the throne, a fendal castle, probably a single square tower or keep with spacious courtyard or enciente, replaced the earlier buildings of wood and wattles, rudely fortified by earthworks. In the reign of King William the Lion, Stirling castle was one of the five principal fortresses of the kingdom. During the wars with England, it was more than once destroyed and rebuilt, and it was the prize for which the battle of Bannockburn was fought by King Robert Bruce against the forces of King Edward I. of England.

From the accession of King Alexander I. to the union of Scotland with England, Stirling was one of the chief centres of political activity and statecraft, and a relation of its annals would involve nearly the whole of Scottish history. By the early kings of Scotland it was regarded as one of the most important places in the kingdom, and it was a frequent and favorite residence of the royal family. In the words of the poet, it was "parent of monarchs, nurse of a kingly race." King Alexander I. died there, and when King William the Lion was ill he asked to be carried to Stirling, where he lingered for several months before death closed his career. The Stewarts recreated Stirling castle and it became a delightful and luxurious home for them. There in February, 1452, King James II. stabbed the Earl of Douglas:

"Ye towers! within whose circuit dread
A Douglas by his sovereign bled."⁶

6. "Lady of the Lake," by Sir Walter Scott, Canto V.

Stirling castle, well preserved, is one of the most revered structures of Scotland. For generations, alike in its picturesque beauty and noble grandeur and in its stirring historic associations, it has been the admiration of all who have looked upon it and has been an inspiration to patriotism and to letters. Said one enthusiastic writer describing it:

“Who does not know Stirling’s noble rock rising the monarch of the landscape, its majestic and picturesque towers, its amphitheatre of mountain and the winding of its marvelous river; and who that has once seen the sun descending here in all the blaze of its beauty beyond the purple hills of the west can ever forget the plains of Stirling, the endless charm of this wonderful scene, the wealth, the splendor, the variety, the majesty of all which lies between earth and heaven?”

In close proximity to Stirling are the villages of Bannockburn and St. Ninian’s, and the famous battleground where Bruce achieved the liberation of Scotland lies immediately between them. The bore-stone, in which the Scottish king planted his standard, is still preserved and occupies its original site near the village of Bannockburn.

On the esplanade of Stirling stands a monument of Robert Bruce, of colossal size. The figure is nearly eleven feet high, and stands looking in the direction of the field of Bannockburn, where King Robert achieved his greatest victory over the English forces. The king is represented as a knight of the highest rank, clad in the fighting armor of the period and in the act of sheathing his sword after the victory. On the front of the pedestal is the Scottish shield with the lion rampant in high relief. On the western face of the pedestal is the inscription “King Robert Bruce; June 24, 1314,” the date of the battle of Bannockburn. The statue was unveiled November 24, 1877.

MELROSE ABBEY

Melrose abbey had a precursor in a religious house of the Culdee brotherhood established in the seventh century, under the patronage of Oswald, king of Northumbria. That has long ago disappeared, and even the more modern building is in ruins. The

abbey that stood where ruins now are was founded for the Cistercian monks in 1136. The second abbot of the house was the famous St. Waltheof, Walthen, or Waldeve, who was related to the ancestors of the Bruces. His grandfather was Siward, the Saxon count of Northumberland, who strongly opposed William the Conqueror, by whom he was captured and beheaded. Siward's daughter, the mother of the abbot, married Simon, earl of Huntingdon, and after the death of that noble married Prince David, who later became the king.

In the wars between England and Scotland the abbey suffered much from the English invaders, who were at odds with the monks because the latter avowed the cause of Bruce and Scotland. When Edward II. invaded Scotland in 1322 he intended to rest at Melrose. Douglas was near by with a small company of retainers and the brotherhood admitted him and his men to the abbey, from which they could sally forth in an attack upon the English. According to Barbour⁷ they sent out to reconnoitre "a rich sturdy free, that wes all stout, derft and hardy."

"Upon a stalwart horse he rad
And in his hand he had a sper,
And abauid upon that manner
Quhil that he saw them command near,
And quhen the fermest passit wer
The coynge—he cryit 'Douglas, Douglas.'
Then till them all a course he mass,
And bar ane down delyverly,
And Douglas and his company,
Ischyt upon them with a shout."

Douglas could do little damage to the big English army, and after he had fallen back to the forest King Edward occupied the place and took summary vengeance, wrecking the building, slaying the monks, and carrying away with him the silver pix for holding the sacramental wafer.

King Robert Bruce was a good and generous friend to the brotherhood. Among the muniments of the foundation is an interesting document in which Bruce commends the brotherhood with great affection and warmth of expression to the pious

7. "Metrical Life and Acts of Robert Bruce," by John Barbour.

charge of his son and successor, David, stating that he intends that the monastery shall be the depository of his heart.

The present buildings, ruined as they are, belong to a date much posterior to the time of the reigning Bruces. They are not older than the fifteenth century. Few among the ruined historic structures of Scotland are more picturesquely attractive or more generally admired.

“If thou would’st view fair Melrose aright,
Go visit it by the pale moonlight:
For the gay beams of lightsome day
Gild but to flout the ruins gray.
When the broken arches are black in night,
And each shafter oriel glimmers white:
When the cold light’s uncertain shower
Streams on the ruined central tower;
When buttress and buttress alternately,
Seemed framed of ebon and ivory;
When silver edges the imagery,
And the scrolls that teach thee to live and die;
When distant Tweed is heard to rave,
And owlet to hoot o’er the dead man’s grave,
Then go—but go alone the while—
Then view St. David’s ruined pile;
And home returning, soothly swear,
Was never scene so sad and fair.”⁸

CLACKMANNAN

Clackmannan tower, home of the Clackmannan branch of the Bruces, is situated on the top of a hill on the eastern slope of which the town of Clackmannan stands. In 1359, King David II. granted a charter of this domain to Robert Bruce, his nephew, and the castle was held by his descendants in this branch of the Bruce family until the close of the eighteenth century. The old tower is remarkably well preserved, being a rectangular keep, twenty-four feet by eighteen feet inside, with walls six feet thick. In its prime it contained a fine entrance hall with adjacent rooms and several floors above. A second tower was added in the sixteenth century, and this is now in existence, with fireplace, stair-

8. “The Lay of the Last Minstrel,” by Sir Walter Scott, Canto II.

case, picturesque belfry, and other appurtenances. In the adjoining village there was long a relic of the Bruce, a large stone which, having been broken, was girded with bands of iron and preserved with devout reverence. On this stone, says the tradition, the king, while residing in the tower, accidentally left his glove, and, sending his squire to fetch it, used the two words *clack*, a stone, and, *mannan*, a glove: from this the tower, village, and county derived their name.

RAIT

Rait castle in Nairnshire, the home of Robert Bruce the second baron of Clackmannan, is of such ancient origin that there is no account of its beginning. It is an interesting and unique building about three miles south from the town of Nairn, and commands the coast between Nairn and Moray Firth. Tradition says that it belonged to the Raits of that ilk and afterwards to the Comyns. The ruins show that the castle was an oblong structure about sixty-four feet by thirty-three feet, with walls five feet thick. At the southwest angle was a round tower twenty-one feet in diameter. There were three stories, but the upper ones have disappeared. The entrance was one floor from the ground and opened upon a great hall with handsome mullioned windows.

ROYSTH

On the coast along the Firth of Forth, not far from Dunfermline, is the ruined castle of Rosyth which was the ancestral home of Sir David Stewart, whose daughter Elizabeth Stewart married John Bruce the fourth baron of Clackmannan. It stands high on a rock that slopes gently into the sea and that at full tide is an island wholly surrounded by water. It consists of a high tower, with a vaulted apartment underneath and an inner winding staircase leading to the upper room or floor. Portions of the north and west walls of an adjoining building on the west are still to be seen. In a high compartment over the gateway is a defaced armorial bearing surmounted by a crown and the date 1561, with the letters M. R. (Maria Regina). Mary Queen of

Scots, whose memory is thus perpetuated, is said to have slept in this castle, the first night after her flight from Lochleven on her way to Glasgow, near which in May, 1568, was fought the fatal battle of Langside. On the south side of the castle, near the door was an inscription on an old stone in Roman capital letters:

“In-Dev-Tym-Dra-Yes-Cord-Ye-Bel-to-Clink
Quahais Mery-Voce-Warns-to-Mete-and-Drink”

The castle was anciently the seat of the Stewarts of Rosyth or Durisdeer, the lineal descendants of the brother-german of Walter, the high steward of Scotland, father of King Robert II.

BIRSAY PALACE

At the extreme northwest corner of Orkney, twenty miles from Kirkwall, is the large and imposing Birsay palace. It was built by Robert Stewart, half-brother of Queen Mary and descendant of Robert Bruce. He put upon the building this inscription: “Dominus Robertus Stewartus, filius Jacobi Quinti Rex Scottorum.” It is said that this bad Latin by which the title King of Scots was made to pertain to Robert, even if he did not intend it, had an influence in bringing Earl Patrick, son of Robert, to the block, when he was arraigned on a charge of treason.

Robert Stewart and his son, Earl Patrick, ruled like kings in this far-away part of Scotland, and Birsay was a palace befitting a sovereign. It is now very much ruined, but it gives abundant evidence of its former grandeur. It is situate close to the sea-shore and can be reached easily both from the land side and the waterside. It consists of a court yard surrounded with two-story buildings and having two vaulted towers at the angles to protect the approach.

Earl Patrick Stewart rivalled his father in the imposing palace that he built near the cathedral of St. Magnus and the Bishop's palace in Kirkwall. This building has been preserved almost entire except the roof. Sir Walter Scott thus described the remains of the fortified palace of the earls of Orkney:

“These remains, though much dilapidated, still exist in the

neighborhood of the venerable and massive pile, which Norwegian devotion dedicated to St. Magnus the Martyr, and, being contiguous to the Bishop's palace, which is also ruinous, the place is impressive as exhibiting vestiges of the mutations both in church and state which have affected Orkney, as well as countries more exposed to such convulsions. The earl's palace forms three sides of an oblong square, and has even in its ruins, the air of an elegant yet massive structure, uniting, as was usual in the residences of feudal princes, the character of a palace and of a castle. A great banqueting hall, communicating with several large rounds or projecting turret rooms, and having at either end an immense chimney, testifies the ancient Northern hospitality of the earls of Orkney, and communicates, almost in the most modern fashion, with a gallery or withdrawing room of considerable dimensions, and having, like the hall, its projecting turrets. The lordly hall itself is lighted by a fine Gothic window, of shafted stone at one end, and is entered by a spacious and elegant staircase, consisting of three flights of stone steps. The exterior ornaments and proportions of the ancient building are also very handsome, but, being totally unprotected, this remnant of the pomp and grandeur of earls who assumed the license, as well as the dignity, of petty sovereigns is now fast crumbling to decay.⁹⁹

Since the time of Scott, this princely palace has gone further to ruin, but it still gives plentiful evidence of its former stately character. Architecturally, it belongs to the seventeenth century.

MUNESS

Muness castle has been called "the most northern specimen of our Scottish domestic architecture." Lawrence Bruce, its builder, might well have said in the words of Longfellow:

"So far I live to the Northward,
No man lives North of Me."

The castle stands on a rising moorland, about half a mile from the sea. It is oblong, seventy four feet by twenty-eight feet, with two large round towers. The building is three stories high and quite entire. The entrance doorway is on the south front

9. "The Pirate," by Sir Walter Scott.

and above this is a large panel with an inscription in German letters, which runs thus :

“List ye to know yis building quha began?
Laurance the Bruce, he was that worthy man,
Quha earnestlie his airis and offspring prayis,
To help and not to hurt this wark alwayis.
The zier of God 1598.”

Above the inscription is a panel with the Bruce arms.

CAMPBELL

Campbell castle in Clackmannanshire, the ancient home of the noble family of that name, was begun as a single keep and then expanded into a large castle with buildings grouped around a courtyard or quadrangle. Its situation was magnificent, on a large isolated point of high land commanding an opening in the Orchil Hills, with an extensive view over the valley of the Forth. Approached through dark wooded ravines surrounded with perpendicular rocks, it was practically unassailable with the engines of war in use in medieval times. Originally called the Castle of Gloume, its depressing name was changed by act of Parliament in 1489 at the instance of its owner at that time, the first duke of Argyre. In 1645, Montrose succeeded in capturing the stronghold and destroyed it.

(To be Continued.)

ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF HERALDRY.

VIII

CONTINUATION OF THE CONSIDERATION OF ANIMALS USED IN HERALDRY, THEIR ORIGIN AND THE SENTIMENTS WHICH ARE REPRESENTED BY THEM

BY HENRY WHITEMORE

THE LILY—This flower is extensively used in armories, of which there are two kinds—the lilies of the garden, and the lilies of the flag, such as those of France; the first two are used in the emblem of the virgin Mary, for which account, Ferdinand, king of Arragon, in the year 1403, in honor of her, instituted the order of knighthood under the name of the Lily. The collar of the Order of the Lily was composed of bough-pots filled with white lilies interchanged with griffins. These are also used in that sense by the town of Dundee, whose patron saint was the virgin Mary, and which bore azure a bough-pot full of lilies of the garden.

The other lilies, or those of France, so well known, from being carried through Europe by most of the sovereign princes and other noble families, are called the flowers of the flag; and differ from the lilies of the garden in having but three leaves. This lily is called in Latin *flox irides*, and by the French *fleur-de-iris*, being always the flower of the rainbow or irides. The royal standard of France was called the *oriflam* or *oriflambo*, being a blue banner charged with golden *fleurs-de-lis*, a suitable figure say some for the Franks who came from the marches of Friezland. They say that the Franks of old had a custom at the choosing or proclaiming their kings of placing him aloft, above their heads, upon a shield or target, and putting in his right hand a flag with its flower in place of the sceptre. From

this the kings of the first and second race of France are represented with sceptres in their hands, like to the flag with its flowers and this became the armorial figures of France.

There are other stories about the *fleurs-de-lis* of France. One is, that a banner came down from heaven; but as to the time and manner of descent historians differ. The Germans say that St. Dennis gave it to the family of France. Nicol Gillies insist that the banner was brought by an angel to King Clovis after his baptism; and Nicolas Upton, an English writer, who lived about the year 1428, says that an angel from heaven gave a blue banner *sème* of *fleur-de-lis* to Charlemagne.

Menestrier says that these fables were founded upon the action of Pope Leo III., who at the reception of Charlemagne at Roine, declared him with all ceremony, defender of the Church of St. Peter, and gave him the keys and a blue banner *sème* of *fleur-de-lis* of gold. This banner, being of heavenly color, blue, was called *verillun celeste*, and, having come from the pope, the vicar of Christ, it was commonly believed, *through the ignorance of those times*, to have come from heaven; and confirmed by the great success of Charlemagne in his wars where that banner was displayed. Yet, says the author, that was not the first time that the banner of France was seen adorned with *fleur-de-lis*, for all the regalia of the preceding kings of France are known to have been thus adorned.

The French have sought to magnify this flower and celebrate it with many eulogies. Guillim Nanges, in his "History of St. Lewis" says that it consists of three leaves which represent faith, wisdom, and valor—faith supported by the other two, the wisdom and the valor of France.

"Some theorists," says Nisbet, "have given the mystical application to the honor of this flower by heaping together all the places of Holy Writ, where the lily is mentioned, and applying them to it, as in Luke XII 'Consider the lilies how they grow; they toil not, they spin not; and yet I say unto you that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.' They draw them and apply the Salique law which excludes women from succeeding to the crown of France; and from the other phrase of Holy Writ they magnify their kings above Solomon."

Tristram, a Frenchman, undertakes to prove that the *fleur-de-lis* was the first and ancient bearing of France; that it has always been the device of France in adorning the sceptres and crowns, royal robes, shields, and stands, the regalia of France.

That the *fleur-de-lis* was more ancient than Ludovicus Florus, Menestrier asserts, that he has seen the armorial seal of King Philip, great grandfather of Louis de Jeune, (who, it is claimed, was the first king who carried the *fleur-de-lis*) charged with *fleur-de-lis* appended to a deed of mortification to the abbacy of St. Martin de Pourtois, which ever after occasioned that abbacy to carry one of them for its arms. He also says that the regalia of France were adorned with *fleur-de-lis*, which were the fixed sovereign figures of France many ages before Louis de Jeune; and that those figures for their royal antiquity were affected by many princes, and amongst other, by one King Achaius, who took them into his imperial ensign to adorn the double tressure, the badge of the league between him and Charlemagne. Several other writers state that Edward III., king of England, was not nearly so fond of his claims to the crown of France as he was of the sovereign figure of that kingdom, which he quartered in the first place before those of England, being then azure *seme* of *fleur-de-lis*.

King Charles I., of France, who began his reign in the year 1380, reduced the indefinite number of *fleur-de-lis* to three, disposed two and one. These *fleurs-de-lis* were placed, by that king's order, on a shield after the form of the three crescents *affronte* with the words *Lilia crescent* to signify that being of a smaller number than before, they would increase; and this form of a shield gave reason to some to allege that the arms of France were crescents, after that King's reducing the indefinite number of the French lilies to three. King Edward IV., of England, reduced also the number of the *fleur-de-lis*, in his bearing, to three.

The *fleur-de-lis* are very famous throughout Europe, being borne by many princes and persons of high dignity, as well as in advancing the imperial crowns of England and Scotland; by the first to show a right of pretension, and by the second, its unity with France. They are also used as armorial ensigns by sovereign princes, as the Medici and the family of Este in

Italy; and also in the arms of eminent churches and abbacies, and great cities to show their acknowledgment and subjection. Many noble families in Boulogne, and Genoa, carry *fleur-de-lis* to acknowledge the rise of their greatness to France. So many other families do in other countries, and some in Scotland, as the dukes of Lennox who quartered the arms of France with their own, on account of the noble Feise they were honored with in that kingdom.

The name of Montgomery carries arms, three *fleur-de-lis* or, as being originally from France. Roger Montgomery came to England with William the Conqueror, and founded the church of Shrewsbury; and his son Robert, for some discontent, went to Scotland, where he got a fair inheritance in the Renfrew.

The name of Brown, a very ancient one, carries for arms *fleur-de-lis*. One Walter de Brun is witness in an instrument of inquisition, made by David, prince of Cumberland, afterwards king of Scotland, of the possessions of the church of Glasgow. He may have been the predecessor of Philip de Brun, mentioned in a charter of Robert Moubray to Moncrief in the reign of King Alexander II. Richard de Brun was forfeited by King Robert the Bruce in 1320.

Brown, of Coalston, had a charter from King David II., granted to David Brown of Coalston, who afterwards mortified a part of the barony. This Brown carried arms, gules, three *fleur-de-lis*, or; crest, a lion rampant, holding in his dexter paw a *fleur-de-lis*, with the motto, *Florcal majestas*. Thomas Brown, of Bonnington, in Midlothian, carried arms, or, on a chevron between three *fleur-de-lis*, a besant of the first; crest, a ship under sail proper.

Stephenson, of Herronshiels, had arms argent a chevron between three *fleur-de-lis* gules, a chief of the last, as many mullets or. Alexander Stevenson of Chester, whose father was a brother of Herronshiels, carried arms, argent, on a chevron between three *fleur-de-lis*, azure, a cross moline of the first; and on a chief gules, three mullets or; crest, a rose tree bearing roses proper. Sir Alexander Stevenson, doctor of medicine, had arms, argent, a chevron between three *fleur-de-lis* azure, on a chief of the last, three mullets of the first; crest, a dexter hand issuing out of a cloud holding a laurel garland, all proper.

OF CINQUEFOILS, QUARTERFOILS AND TREFOILS. THEIR FREQUENT USES IN ARMOR AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

Cinquefoil derives from the French *cinque*, five, and *feuille*, a leaf. Other flowers that have but five leaves may be so called when their specific names are not known; yet, on the authority of General Leigh if the proper names of flowers of five leaves are not known, they should have different names in blazon from the nine armorial tinctures of which they are colored. For example, if the cinquefoil be of tincture *or*, it should be called *ranuncula*; if of *argent*, *jessamine*; if *gules*, the *rose*; if *azure*, *pirvinde*; if *sable*, *ducal*; if *vert*, *five leave grass*; if *purpure*, *bugloss*; if *tenny*, *puppie*; and if *sanguine*, the *stock-jelly-flower*. If they are of any other color besides these and the furs, they are then to be blazoned *cinquefoils*. The French call them *quintefeilles*, and the English cinquefoils of whatever tincture they may be, and are represented pierced or voided in the centre, to distinguish them from those that have specific names.

Menestrier says in his "Rose of Arms" that cinquefoils were anciently used by those who went to war, as distinguishing badges, because it was latined *vinca pervinca*, which name seems to be likely, having some resemblance to victory.

Cinquefoils are frequent in England and Scotland in the arms of ancient and honorable families, as those borne by the name of Fransev, *azure*, three cinquefoils *argent*, which are ordinarily called in England *fraser*, or *fraisiers*—that is strawberry flowers, and so refer to the name of Fraser.

The progenitor of the name was Pierre, a Frenchman, who went to Scotland in the reign of King Achaius when the famous league was made with France. He and his posterity became thanes of the Isle of Man, and afterwards settled in Tweeddale, and when surnames came into use they took the name of Fraser.

The male representative of the Frasers of Oliver Castle in Tweeddale is said to have gotten great possessions in the north of Scotland, which he and his successors enjoyed under the title of Lord Fraser, whose armorial bearings were, *azure*, five frases or cinquefoils placed in saltier *argent*; for many years, though, these arms have been: *azure*, three cinquefoils, two and one, *argent*.

The noble family of Hamilton has for its arms: gules, three cinquefoils ermine: and it derives descent from the old earls of Leicester, in England, and Mellant, in Normandy, who carried gules, a cinquefoil ermine, the paternal arms of Millant.

James, the fourth Lord Hamilton, and second earl of Arran, after the death of King James V., was declared governor of Scotland and tutor to the infant Queen Mary. He was a long time governor after Queen Mary went into France. The collar of the Order of St. Michael was placed round his quartered arms, being those of Hamilton and Arran, which are to be seen in the monumental books of blazon and other paintings. Those bearing the surname of Livingston give for their armorial figures, argent three cinquefoils gules, pierced in the field, so carried by Livingston of that ilk in the shire of Lothian, and the same within a double tressure, flowered and counterflowered with fleur-de-lis vert, of old by Livingston of Wemyss, in Fife.

The first of the Livingstone name is said to have been one of the gentlemen who accompanied Queen Margaret, wife to King Malcom Canmore from Hungary to Scotland, and got some lands called, either from his own name, or that of his successors Livingius, who, by the records of the abbacy, of Holyroodshire, possessed lands in West Lothian in the reign of King David I. which he called Livingston from his own name.

One principal family of the name, are the Livingstons of Callendar, the first of which was Sir William Livingston, who got that barony by marrying the daughter of Patrick Callender, who was forfeited for being of the Baliol's interest; so that the family of Callendar has been since used to quarter the arms of Callendar with their own. Of this line is lineally descended James, earl of Linlithgow and Callendar, who carried, quarterly, first and fourth, Livingston, argent, three cinquefoils, gules, within a double tressure, flowered and counterflowered with a fleur-de-lis vert; second and third sable, a bend between six billets or, for Callendar; over all, in the centre, an escutcheon azure, a tree growing out of the base or; within a bordure argent, charged with eight cinquefoils gules, for the title of Linlithgow; and a demi savage proper, holding a baton or club, erected in his right hand, and about his left arm a surtout twisted vert;

supporters, two savages proper, wreathed about the head and middle, holding batons over their shoulders.

The first of the family of Earl Callendar was James, second son of the first Earl Linlithgow who purchased honor and riches in the wars abroad; and, after his return home he was, by King Charles I., created Lord Almond, in 1633; and after, in the year 1641, was honored with the dignity of earl of Callendar; he carried Callendar and Livingston, quarterly, with a crescent in the centre, for difference; crest, a dexter hand holding a sword proper; supporters, two lions gules.

The Viscount of Kilsyth was the first cadet of the family of Livingston of Callendar, being a son of John Livingston, of Callendar, and his second wife, Agnes, daughter of Sir James Douglass of Dalkeith, and a half brother to Sir Alexander Livingston the governor of Scotland in the minority of King James II. The family was honored in the person of Sir James Livingston with the title of Viscount Kilsyth and Lord Campsie, 17th Aug. 1662; they carry only the crest of Livingston and in place of cinquefoils, gillyflowers slipped for difference; as Sir George Mackenzie in his "Science of Heraldry," who says 'hat the earl of Callendar used the gillyflowers eradicate. The exterior ornaments of the viscount of Kilsyth's arms are, for supporters, two lions rampant gules; crest, a demi savage wreathed about the head and middle with a laurel, all proper.

Livingston, of Kinnaird, who was the first of this family descended from Livingston of West Quarter, was a younger son of John Livingston, of Callendar, and his wife, a daughter of Monteith of Carse, father and mother of Sir Alexander Livingston, governor to King James II. The family carried arms, argent on a bend between three gillyflowers gules, an anchor of the first, all within a double tressure, flowered and counter-flowered vert; crest a Moor's head couped proper, banded gules and argent, with pendles argent at his ears, supported on the dexter by a savage proper, wreathed about the head and middle vert, and on the sinister by a horse argent furnished gules.

The surname of Borthwick carries arms, argent three cinquefoils sable. The chief of this name was Lord Borthwick who carried the same, supported by angels proper, winged or; and for crest, a savage's head couped proper. The first of this fam-



ily and name is said to be one of those gentlemen who attended Queen Margaret from Hungary to Scotland.

The family of Pierrepont had its rise from Robert Pierpont, who came to England with William the Conqueror, of which family was George Pierepont, who was knighted by King Edward VI., of England. His grandchild, Robert Pierrepont, was, by King Charles I., in the year 1627, for his unshaken loyalty, created Lord Pierepont and Viscount of Newark, but was killed fighting for the king. His eldest son, Henry Pierrepont, for his own and for his father's good services, was created Marquis of Dorchester. The proper arms of the family of Pierepont are, *argent seme of cinquefoils gules, a lion rampant sable*; some make the number of cinquefoils eight.

D'Arcy, earl of Holdemer, for their paternal arms, carry *azure seme of cross crosslets and three cinquefoils argent*. This ancient and honorable family is originally descended from Norman d'Arcy, who came over to England with William the Conqueror, by whose immediate gift, the Norman enjoyed no less than thirty-three lordships in Lincolnshire.

QUATREFOILS, or caterfoils, are flowers of four leaves, but are not met with so frequently in arms as the cinquefoils. The name of White in Scotland, carries arms, *argent, a martlet sable between three quatrefoils of the first*. John Whylt, of Benochy, carried *argent a martlet displayed between three quatrefoils sable, on a chief of the second as many quatrefoils of the first*. There are many families in England who carry quatrefoils; of these, the name of Platt carries arms, *vert, three quatrefoils argent, each charged with a lion's head erased sable*.



Mallet.



Estolle.



Trefoil.



Quatrefoil.

TREFOILS, flowers or herbs of three leaves, are more frequent in armor than the quatrefoil, and are often represented with stalks for which in blazon they are said to be slipped which rep-

resent the choir-grass, the emblem of fertility. With such the Romans adorned the arms and chaplets of the victorious called *corona graminia*.

Bothwell, Lord Holyroodhouse, carried arms, azure on a chevron between three trefoils slipped or, a crescent gules, supported on the dexter side by a spaniel dog, collared gules and or, the sinister by a goshawk proper fessed, beaked and bulled or; crest, a naked boy pulling down the top of a green pine tree.

Bothwell, of Ford, carried the same arms without the crescent and exterior ornaments, which may be seen illuminated in the House of Falehall. Sir Richard Bothwell, provost of Edinburgh in the reign of Queen Mary, and Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney and commendator of Holyroodhouse, granted a charter of the date of 17th July, 1572, to which was appended the bishop's seal, which had the aforesaid arms, without a crescent and exterior ornaments.

The name of Gilbert carried arms, argent on a chevron azure between three trefoils vert, as many fleur-de-lis or.

LEAVES OF TREES, PLANTS AND HERBS

These are used in arms not only on account of their natural and symbolic qualities but as relative to the names of their bearers.

Those of the name of Foulis bear argent three leaves vert. The name is from the French word *fouille*, which signifies leaves, whence those of the name are said to be of French extraction and to have been long in Scotland. The arms of the principal family of the name, are, argent three bay leaves, slipped, vert; crest, a dexter hand couped, holding a sword in pale, supporting a laurel all proper; motto, *Mente manueque presti*.

HOLLIN OR HOLLY LEAVES are a kind of laurel, so called for the reason that, with such evergreens, temples, altars and holy places were wont to be adorned.

Alexander Irvins, of Drum, had arms, argent, three small sheafs, or bundles of holly, three and one, vert, each consisting of as many leaves slipped of the last, banded gules; crest a sheaf of arrows; supporters, two savages wreathed about the head and middle with holly, each carrying in their hands a baton, all proper.

Sir George Mackenzie, in his "Science of Heraldry" says that King Robert Bruce, had for his badge and device three such leaves, with the motto, *Sub soli, sub umbra vericus*, which was afterward designed of Drum, his armor-bearer, one of the progenitors of the Irvins of Drum, an ancient and principal family.

BARONET LEAVES, so called, are carried by the name of Burnet, as relative to the name, which is ancient in England. Thomas Burnet, of Innerlath, descended from Leys, had arms argent, three holly leaves in chief, and a hunting horn in base, sable, garnished, gules, within a bordure indented of the second, and a crescent for difference; crest, a holly branch proper; motto, *Virtute cresco*.

ARTIFICIAL FIGURES IN ARMORIES

THE SWORD, the badge of authority and mark for a military man as such, is frequent in arms to perpetrate some military exploit done or to be done; its position, with the hilt and pommel, if of different tinctures, are to be noticed in blazon.

Halliday of Tillybole, had arms, argent, a sword paleways, the pommel within a crescent in base, gules, and a canton azure, charged with a St. Andrews cross of the first, and a boar's head couped argent armed or; motto, *Virtute parat*.

The ancient family of Paulet, in England, carried sable three swords, their points conjoined in base argent, hilted, or.

The name of Norton in England had arms, azure, three swords, one in pale, with the point upwards surmounted of the other two placed saltierways with the points downwards argent.

CROOKED SWORDS are frequently borne, such as shabbles and cutlasses, which the French call *badelaires*. The ermpet of a sword, called *bouterall* by the French, is to be found in the arms of the town of Sebach in the county of Touraine—arms, three *bouteralls* gules.

BATTLE AXES AND HALBERTS are carried in armorial figures by several families in England. David Soshach of Manovaird, or of that ilk, whose predecessor is said to have descended from the great Macduff, in the reign of Malcom Canmore, carried,

gules, two pole-axes in pale argent, over all a fesse cheque of the second, and azure; crest, a sinister hand issuing out of the wreath, and thereon a falcon rising, all proper.

The name of Dennis carries arms, argent three battle-axes sable, with a bordure gules.

Walter Rankin of Orchardhead, had arms, gules three boars' heads erased argent, two and one, between a lance issuing out of the dexter base, and a Lochaber-axe issuing out of the sinister, both erect in pale, of the second; crest, a lance issuing out of the torse.

A GAUNTLET, the armor of the hand, is frequent in heraldry. The name of Kein carries argent, a gauntlet glove azure, on a chief gules a mullet or.

Crawford says that Kein of Hithelory carried arms, gules a gauntlet in fesse or, and, on a chief argent three stars of the first. When the arms are wholly covered with armor then is said to be rambraced, as by those of the name of Armstrong, in England, viz., gules three dexter arms rambraced proper. When the legs are covered with armor they are said to be only armed, as in the armorial ensign of the Isle of Man.

SPURS, with the Romans indicated the badge of knighthood proper to their *equities aurati*, as the golden spurs to the German knights, and the same to the knights of the spur, in England, and it is stated that a family of the name of Knight, in Shrewsbury carried argent three pallets gules within a bordure engrailed azure, and a dexter canton of the second, charged with a spur and its leather, or; and that the same design is carried by other families of the name of Knight in England.

The rowels of spurs are more frequently borne than the whole spur, called mallets or mullets, from the French, *molettes d'sperm*, the rowel of a spur. They have ordinarily six points, and are pierced in the middle, by which they are distinguished from stars. The English do not sharply distinguish in their blazon mallets or mullets, whether they represent spur rowel or a star; and distinguish them not by the number of their points, but sometimes they add the word pierced to a mullet to represent a spur rowel; though since mullet signifies nothing else, the term pierced seems superfluous. Old blazons call the spur rials, or

revels, to distinguish them from the stars, but our moderns have followed the English, calling these stars both mullets or mullets, without distinction: so that it is hard to know when they represent the one or the other except they add the word pierced, which is often omitted in their blazons and paintings.

Sir John Jurdin, of Applegate, Baronet, carried argent a saltier and chief gules on the last, these spur rowels of six points of the first, which arms are supported on the right side by a horse at liberty argent; and in the left a man completely armed cap-a-pie proper; crest, a spur rowel of six points on the former, with the motto, *Cave adsum*.

The name of Burn carries arms, or, two spur rowels and a hunting horn in base.

The Episcopal See of Bangor, in England, carries arms, gules on a bend argent, gutte, sable, between two mullets pierced of the second. There are many other noble families of England who carry these devices on their arms.

BUCKLES OR CLASPS, in arms, are called by the English sometimes fermachs, from the French, *fermecons*, buckles. Buckles, clasps and rings are said by heralds to represent power and authority in the bearers, as also an acknowledgment of a dependence of sovereign powers, for such things were of old ordinary gifts of superiors, as badges of fidelity and firmness. Morgan says in his "Heraldry" that these arming buckles were added as a sign of power and authority to the bordures of the Stewarts, earls of Darnby and Lennox.

The name of Sterling has always carried in their arms, buckles, variously situate, three, two, one, at other times in chief or, on a chief, in ancient bearings, but more frequently on a bend, as now used. Sir James Balfour, in his "Blazons," says: "in the year 1292, Sir William Stirling carried arms, parted per fesse, sable and or, three buckles of the last on the first, which Sir George Mackenzie in his MSS., ascribes to Sterling of Glenesk, viz.: arms or, on a chief sable three buckles of the first. The family of Sterling of Glenesk failed in an heir female who was married to Sir Alexander Lindsay.

Sterling of Keir has always been reckoned the principal family of the name, and thought to be descended from the first Wal-

ter de Strivelin, witness in Prince Henry's charter. Of old, he carried arms, argent on a bend sable three buckles or. Some authorities have made the bend vert, and others azure, but the bend sable is the most frequently to be met with, as on the House of Falahall, where the arms of many of the barons of Scotland were illuminated in the year 1614. Amongst them are those of Sterling of Kier, who carried arms, argent on a bend engrailed sable three buckles or.

Sir John Sterling, of Gloral, Baronet, carried arms, argent, a bend engrailed azure, charged with three buckles or, on a chief gules a naked arm issuing out of a cloud from the sinister side, grasping a sword in pale, and therewith guarding an imperial crown, placed in the dexter chief point proper, all within a double tressure counterflowered with thistles vert. Crest, a lion passant gules.

The ancient name of Bunkle carried buckles relative to the name. Sir James Balfour says, in the year 1222, Bunkle, carried arms, sable three buckles or. The principle family of the name was Bunkle, of that ilk; and the shire of Browne had arms, argent on a bend sable three buckles or.

These arms have been displayed and are perpetuated by many noble families, especially those of Stewart, on account of their maternal descent. Sir John Stewart, second son of Alexander, lord high steward of Scotland, and full brother to James, lord high Steward, married Margaret, daughter and heir of Sir Alexander Bunkle, of that ilk, about the year 1204, who, in his right became possessor of many lands, and especially those of Bunkle, in the Merse, after which he was designed Sir John Stewart of Bunkle; as also he composed the armorial bearings with them, viz.: arms, or, a fesse cheque, azure and argent, surmounted by a bend sable, charged with three buckles or; for which their issue carried buckles as the Stewarts, earls of Argus, and the Douglasses, as descendants of them, and others descended of Stewart of Bunkle, placed the buckles upon their borders.

Sir James Lumisden, of Inergilly, was Major General to Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, in whose wars he was famous for the taking of Frankfort on the Order. The family of Robert

Lumsden of Invergilly, carried arms, azure, a chevron or, between a wolf's head couped, and a buckle in chief, and an escallop in base argent; crest, an earn devouring a salmon proper.

THE HEADS OF SPEARS, arrows and darts, are frequent in arms and in blazons. The heads of darts are called pheons, and ordinarily, by the French *fer de dart*, and are sometimes said to be barbed, when hooked with teeth. The name of Stewart carries arms, argent, a chevron between three pheons sable. The name of Moodie carries a chevron ermine between three pheons argent. In England the pheon is frequently borne as by the noble family of Sydney, earl of Leicester, viz.: or, a pheon azure.

MILITARY INSTRUMENTS, ancient and modern, such as bows, arrows, darts, etc., have been, and are frequent arms, to show some singular event, or as relative to the name of the bearer. Bower, of Kennettle, had arms, vert, two bows, in full bend paleways proper, stringed argent, between three sheaves of arrows, two in chief and one in base of the second. The name of Littlejohn carries, argent, three arrows, gules, the middlement paleways, the other two saltierways, with three points downward, feathered or, accompanied with six trefoils slipped of the second, two in chief and two in fesse and two in base.

CALTRAPS, by some called chevaltraps, by the French, *chaussetraps*, are an instrument of iron, used in war to gall and wound horses' feet. It consisted of four pricks placed after such fashion, as which way it was to lie on the ground one point would always stick up; they are to be seen on the compartment of the achievements of the earls of Perth; the Latins call them, *murices*.

BATTERY RAMS, are to be found in the arms of the earl of Lindsay, as their paternal figures, viz: argent three battery rams proper, armed and garnished azure.

BANNERS, ensigns, standards, pennons, etc. These armorials or charges are contained within the shield. The name of Bannerman carried anciently, for all armorial figure a banner displayed as relative to the name; which was from their offices, they being hereditary banner-bearers of old, to the kings in the reign of Malcolm IV. or William, the Lion.

Balfour, in his "Manuscripts of Blazons," says that Bannerman of Elseke, in the shire of Kincardine, carried arms, or, on a

fesse, between three bears' heads coupéd, azure, as many mascles of the first. And Bart, in his "Manuscripts" says "Bannerman, of Watertown, anno 1590, carried arms, azure on a fesse or, between three bears' heads, coupéd of the last, a mascle gules, which arms alter somewhat from those of the Forbesses."

THE GONFANON, is carried as an armorial figure, or common charge, by many families for the reason that they had been gonfoliers, that is, standard bearers to the church, on the counts of Auvergne, in France, who carried arms, or, a gonfanon gules, fringed vert.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS used in war, such as trumpets, drums, etc., are to be found in arms, as explained by Guillim. There is a figure carried in the arms of Granville, earl of Bath, viz: gules, three clarions or. Some take this to represent musical instruments. In times of tournaments and joustings knights came with their clarions.

WATER BUDGET, or bucket, used in armroies by the English, is also to be seen in the bearings of some families of Scotland. The English disagree about the nature & use. Some take the water budget to represent aquafolia, a water plant, but others take it for a vessel made of leather filled with wind to help men to swim over rivers; they are used also to represent scrips of religious votaries. Another theory is that heralds, in England take water budgets for vessels of leather which soldiers used for carrying water or other liquors in long marches, where liquors were scarce.

The surname of Ross, in England carried arms, or, three water budgets sable. The first of that name, says Dugdale in his "Baronage," was one Peter, in the reign of Henry I., who took his name from the place of his residence called Ross, in the East Riding of Yorkshire; whose great grandfather was Robert Ross, Lord Hamlock of Scotland. Members of this family were prominent in the reigns of Alexander I. and II.

CASTLES AND TOWERS and their uses are defined by Guillim, who says that the architecture of a castle must extend itself over all the field, that is from one side of the shield to the other; but the building of a tower is not so extended; so that the field appears on every side. This distinction does not hold in the practice of

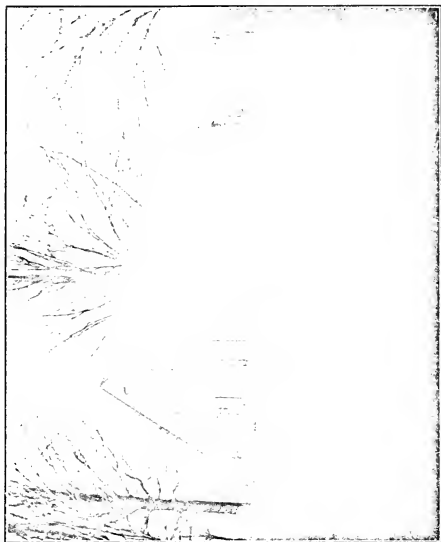
any nation, nor with that of the English. Sylvester Petra Sancta says that castles have triple towers above the embattlement and a tower has but one above the embattlement.

Many castles and towers are and may be carried in one shield, situated according to the position of the ordinaries, as in fesse, in bend, in pale, etc., from which situation on other figures they have their blazons.

Castles, towers and other buildings have one peculiar attribute in blazon, which is whatever tincture they be of, if the sediment of the building be of another color from the stones represented by lines or tracts, then the buildings being argent, are said to be masoned of such a tincture, as sable, which the Latins called *lapidum junctura*, or *lapidum commissura*. When the windows and ports of castles and other buildings are of different tincture from the field and building, the windows and ports are supposed to be shut, and must be so expressed in the blazon; if the windows and ports are of the tincture of the field, so that the field is seen through them, then they are supposed to be open, which is to be so expressed in the blazon, and for which the French say *ajoure*, as other figures that are voided of the field. When the port is after the form of a portecullis it is so named in the blazon, and by the French *coulisse*; and the Latins call the portecullis *pacta calaracta*.

The kingdom of Castile in Spain as relative to the name, carries gules, a castle triple towered or, masoned, sable, windows and ports shut, azure; in that kingdom there are many noble families that carry castles in imitation of the sovereign ensign:

(To be Continued.)

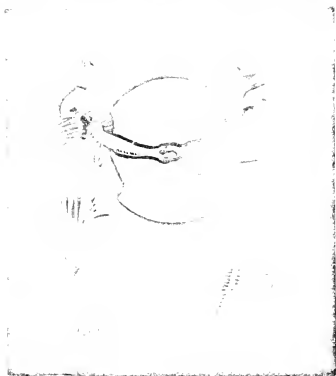


THE WICK HOUSE, MORRIS COUNTY, NEW JERSEY



James O'Hara.

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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NO. 3

A HISTORY OF SLAVERY

BY MRS. C. F. MC LEAN

I

SLAVERY IN ANCIENT EGYPT

WHEN, beyond the twilight of history, in the beginnings of the human race, in the stone age or in that time of which no record even in stone remains, two savage men were contending for existence and the conqueror spared the life of his vanquished enemy, then began the awakening of those instincts which prove that man differed from the wild beasts. It was an advance for the race that a man spared his enemy, although the conquered combatant became the slave of his foe, a slave so abject that his life was prolonged only so long as the savage instinct of slaughter in his captor was in subjection to an awakened sense of calculation. In sparing his enemy, instead of killing him and literally drinking his blood and mutilating his body, savage man first began to think, to calculate. The desire to have some one with him, in the chase of the more savage beast, on whose slaughter his food and covering depended, and to carry for him the burden of the successful chase to where he dwelt in cave or jungle, was only a step perhaps, but certainly a step toward the time when selfishness, enlightened a little by calculation, took the place of the primal passion of destruction.

Then if this cringing slave turned on his captor or attempted

to escape to desert or jungle, the man who had first thought to use his enemy, instead of slaying him, had rekindled in him the savage instincts of slaughter and killed his captive. If later on deprived of his services and his companionship, he began to regret the killing, to wish he had again spared the creature like unto himself, whom he had at last slain, still another step in the awakening of the man above the beast was taken, and the more of thought, of selfish calculation grew within him.

In the history of the most ancient races, especially of those who reached their civilization in the valley of the Euphrates, the records hewn on rock, pictured on buried and crumbled palace walls, or engraved on cylinder and brick something of this development of man in tribe or race is clearly indicated. Representations of executing prisoners taken in battle precede the more extended illustrations of the return of the conquering hosts to their camp or city, and the train of disarmed and bound captives proves that the prisoners then taken in battle were no longer slain but became slaves to their conquerors.

First definite history belongs to the Egyptians. Their monuments yet remaining, the interwoven relations of their great personages with those of the Old Testament, their connection with the ancient peoples of Asia, with the Greeks and Romans and therefore with the races that came to inhabit the countries of modern Europe, all contribute to make every fact proved by the Egyptologists of paramount importance and interest.

Not only in its general aspects, but also in its restricted divisions, history is an endless chain. Not only for the nations of the present day, but for those of the distant centuries can be proclaimed in insistent tones the solidarity of the human race. We find that those conditions which made slavery more or less revolting and modified the lot of the individual slave were essentially the same in Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Media, Persia, Greece and Rome as they have been in modern times.

Exactly when slaves were first held in Egypt and distinctly designated as such cannot be definitely stated. In the beginnings of her recorded history, when the varied industries of a more civilized state had not been greatly developed, and the principal occupation was agriculture, there is remaining, of that time, a

piece of literature which bewails the hard lot of the agricultural laborer, who was obliged to work for others than the king who owned the soil, and also of the lot of the "fellahin," or peasants who cultivated holdings of the land which belonged to the king.

Of the peasant it is written that often his crops were nearly destroyed by the locusts, and then the tax gatherer, the agent of the king, would come to claim the remainder. His greatest hardship was to be summoned for forced labor on the public works, and often when he had there served out his time, he would return to find his poor abode in ashes and his family lost to him.

The lot of the one who labored for other owners of land than the king, is depicted as hardly less severe except that it is conceded that he was not forced to labor on the public works. Contemporary with these accounts of the misfortunes of these two classes who labored to enrich others, are given the representations of the life of ease and comfort of the owners of large estates. A little later in the history of these earliest centuries, it is recorded that these land-owners cultivated their extensive holdings by "large numbers of hired laborers or slaves." The greatest hardships pertaining to a condition of slavery even in those early ages, were endured by the poorest classes of the Egyptians themselves. The erection of the great pyramid required the labor of a hundred thousand men during thirty years. It is conceded that this colossal monument represents the work of the poorest classes of the Egyptian themselves, although contemporary with that reading is that of the presence of slaves on large estates.

Before there were great wars between the Egyptians and their neighbors there was a traffic with them in human beings who became slaves of the Egyptians. Whether these were sold by their parents or in what other ways acquired, is not stated by historians.

After giving the account of the sorrows of the very poor in the early centuries of Egyptian history referred to, other very different pictures of the condition of the people are drawn. Doubtless these more cheerful accounts refer particularly to a later era, when advancing civilization brought some better conditions for

even the poorest classes; or there may have existed then, as we can find even now, the greatest comforts and enjoyments for a portion of the population, and in connection with them, conditions of the direst poverty.

Rawlinson says:

“Up to the time of the building of the pyramids, (after the first) there was no great employment of slaves in Egypt: wars were of rare occurrence and when they took place not many prisoners would be made, for the tribes on the Egyptian borders were then none of them numerous, and the few slaves who were occasionally bought passed commonly into domestic service. The result was that both the cultivation of the soil and most of the other industrial pursuits were in the hands of the native Egyptians and furnished them with an ample variety of not disagreeable careers.”

In this earliest pictorial history of the Egyptians, the laborers are represented as doing their tasks with smiling faces, and there is no taskmaster with uplifted stick urging on unwilling workers. Under later dynasties, and after the advent of wars of conquest, this picture is greatly changed.

It must be recalled that the Egyptians were not an African, but an Asiatic people, emigrants from their own territory, which they entered from the East; and they were nearly allied to several important races of southwestern Asia, as the Canaanites, the Accadians, or primitive Babylonians and the Southern, or Himarytic Arabs. The near neighbors of the ancient Egyptians, the Libyians, came originally from northern Europe, and crossed into Africa by way of Spain and Italy. Later they mingled with the people of the country they overcame, and became darker in complexion; originally they were very fair. Toward the south, Egypt had as neighbors Nahse or Nahdsu, real negroes, now known as Nubians. Doubtless from these turbulent but ill-organized tribes, incapable of coalescing, came a great number of slaves in the most ancient centuries of the Egyptian monarchies. Then farther to the south were those known to the Egyptians as the Kise or Kush, and to the Greeks and Romans as Ethiopians, often referred to as their slaves. These were not of negro blood, but must be regarded as Caucasian, ethnically con-

nected with the Canaanites, Southern Arabians, primitive Babylonians, and with the Egyptians themselves. These Ethiopians were war-like, of great strength and unusual height. In the days of their power and luxury, the Greeks and Romans greatly preferred these Ethiopians for runners and outriders.

It is therefore conceded that not until there were wars of conquest with the surrounding tribes or peoples, were there slaves in Egypt in great numbers. During those periods in spite of wars, or better stated, in the intervening periods of peace, Egypt advanced to that knowledge of agriculture, to all the arts of representation, and to the art of living, which yet dazzle the mind in contemplation. Not only those stupendous monuments which defy the destroying power of time itself, but the remains of their manufactures, and the other authentic records of their achievements in the arts and sciences, make us seriously question if, in great degree, modern civilization is in advance of that of the ancient inhabitants of the great valley of the Nile.

Not only through wars of conquest, but also by peaceful advances the Egyptians extended their civilization and influence into neighboring territory. Very early in their history it is recorded that commercial intercourse was established with the Nubians, "who furnished cattle, gold, and slaves." Under the later dynasties of the Pharaohs and verging on the era of decline in their power, if not of their civilization, it is written of at least one reigning monarch, that he was not satisfied with the number of slaves he acquired by war, but even in times of peace there were regular manhunts after slaves from the negro tribes on the extended Egyptian borders.

However, although the negro tribes furnished many of the slaves of ancient Egypt, the color of the skin, the thickness of the lips, the formation of the skull, had nothing whatever to do with the enslavement of the individual, nor did the barbarous or civilized condition of the tribes or peoples modify their servitude. In the centuries when Egypt engaged in war with those ancient nations whose beginnings and recorded history belong to the valley of the Euphrates, those other early civilized people of Assyria, Media, Babylonia and Persia, there were in Egypt many slaves with more Caucasian features and complexion than the

Egyptians themselves. Then again, when during several centuries, Egypt was governed by the Hyksos or Shepherd kings, the monuments, the statuary recording their reigns prove that the monarchs of that dynasty were of a darker race, with thicker lips than the Egyptians; they were from that country where the first invading races from northern Europe mingled with the tribes they found in Ethiopia, and then became a people darker than the Egyptians themselves.

Nor does it appear that anywhere in the ancient world the question of superiority or of inferiority, any of the essential differing characteristics of the individual or of the race, in any way entered into the consideration of the freedom or enslavement of individuals or of people. The fortune of war made the conquered slaves, the character of the ruling sovereign, the religious belief and the more or less civilized character of the conquerors modified their treatment, and the economic conditions of the country decided the scale of their labors and their relative misery or comfort.

In no country of ancient times could a prisoner of war be ransomed, much less exchanged. Some historians of Egypt claim that, in the case of important prisoners, especially if they had been in rebellion, the king ordered their execution, but Rawlinson claims that the Egyptians were too just to be guilty of such inhumanity; that the sculptured walls telling of the events after a battle, and whereon are represented the captives kneeling one at a time before the king, while an Egyptian warrior holds above each head a sword or mace as though ready to strike a deadly blow, are allegorical. They form part of the eulogy of the conquering king and represented his power, but also his generosity in sparing the lives of those whom the fortune of war had made his abject slaves. It is, however conceded, that the Egyptian warriors carried to the king the head or the hand of the enemy they had slain in battle, not only in order that the slaughtered foe be counted, but also that the conqueror claim the reward of his valor. Sometimes also the king rewarded individual captors with the gift of their prisoners, who then passed into private ownership. The following picture of a victorious Egyptian king returning from battle is given by Rawlinson:

“In his triumphal procession an Egyptian Pharaoh held the cord that united the manacled captives, or this cord was attached to his car. When the king repaired to the temple to give thanks for his victory, to offer up the choicest parts of the spoil, vases, incense, bags of money, jars of ointment and the like, at the same time he made a presentation of a large number of his captives, who were added to the sacred slaves previously possessed by the temple.”

From all the inferences that can be made as to the duties that would be performed by slaves at the temple or in the employ of priests outside the temple itself, it is pretty certain that the lot of these captives, henceforth slaves of the priests of the temple, was the least to be dreaded of all the possibilities that defeat in battle placed in store for them.

After the first wars had greatly extended the boundaries of Egypt, it is claimed that the slaves formed a large part of the population; a few historians give the number as great as a third.

The most warlike kings were also the great builders. If not directly said in these records of the monarchs of Egypt, it is at least inferred by the Egyptologists that one of the impelling reasons of the prosecution of the wars of conquest was the desire of these rulers to secure more slaves, in order that they might thus be able to realize their ambitions to surpass their predecessors in erecting pyramids, temples, palaces and other monuments and in completing other great public works. Not only did these kings extend the irrigation system of the Nile by basins and canals, but for that extension they also erected great retaining walls on the banks, whereon have been placed the imperishable records of their achievements. Of them it is written that they sometimes took thousands of prisoners of war at one time.

The periods which best illustrate the work of the slaves, their treatment and their connection with the industries of the country are those centuries when Egypt was either approaching, or had achieved her highest civilization. Through the records of the myriad dynasties and the involved chronology of its kings, their personal character, their achievements in war and in peace, the erection of those monuments and the completion of those other public works which yet excite the wonder of the world, their

achievements in manufactures and other arts than architecture, there is to be gathered more by analysis and constructive imagination, than by recorded facts, a conception of the daily life of the people.

It has been proved that the tenure of land in ancient Egypt developed along the same lines as in other ancient nations, as well as in those countries which now comprise modern Europe. From a recognition of the ownership of the land of the country by the tribe itself, grew gradually the vesting of that right in the chief, and later in the king. After a time the king abrogated to himself the giving outright of a portion of the heritage of the entire people to those who had rendered conspicuous service to him. The obligations to the country represented by the king to make return for this gift in further contribution in wealth or fighting men, was in time minimized until the descendents of those to whom had been given a portion of the national domain, possessed it with little or no recognition of any claim of the state.

In later centuries, when the history of succeeding dynasties became more definite and complete, we distinctly learn that the owners of the soil in Egypt were the kings, the priestly communities and the aristocracy. Of the third class of owners it is recorded that their lands were cultivated principally by slave labor. At the same time the kings let the lands they reserved for personal ownership in small holdings to the fellahin or peasants; and as it is recorded that the kings, after their return from wars brought to the temples with other gifts, a train of slaves, the lands belonging to the priestly communities were also cultivated by slave labor. It is not stated that the fellahin held slaves to aid in the cultivation of their holdings, but from what can be learned of the exactions of the royal tax-gatherers, it is more reasonable to infer that their condition was less desirable than that of the slaves on the estates of the territorial aristocracy.

It is certain that at least one class of Egyptians themselves was held in less esteem than the slaves, and that was the despised swineherds. During centuries these were not permitted to mar-

ry outside of their class, and were looked down upon by even the slaves themselves.

The position of any one class in a community depends on that of every other. In ancient as well as in modern times the degree of the degradation of the slave class, the existence of the absence of the most revolting features of that institution depend greatly on the religious beliefs of the dominating classes, and, included in those religious beliefs the position of honor or of dishonor held by the women of the country.

The religion of Egypt inculcated far higher morality and insisted on greater rectitude of personal conduct than any other religion of the most ancient world, of those centuries and of those peoples antedating the knowledge of the religion of the Hebrews, and of the contact of that race with other ancient races. Of course with the Egyptians, as with other peoples, they did not always live up to the religious beliefs they professed. We do know however, that the higher the standard of morality, the nearer is there an approach to it in practice. Also that in ancient times, the power of the priestly class was decidedly greater over all other classes than has been the case in more modern times. We may therefore be assured, that if the religion of the Egyptians taught more justice and leniency to those in their power, the slaves of ancient Egypt were less oppressed, especially when in domestic servitude, than they were in any of the ancient kingdoms of Asia, or in Greece or Rome.

One prevailing difference between the Egyptians and the other ancient races, and one bearing on the condition of slaves, was the higher position accorded to women. That juster consideration for woman, therefore, eliminated in Egypt some of the revolting features of slavery as it existed in Asia and in Greece and Rome. All Egyptologists agree that one of the most authentic facts about the Egyptian people, one fully established through the many dynasties that governed that ancient kingdom, is that the position of woman was one of absolute equality with man before the law, and one of the largest personal liberty in all conditions of life.

In every case where the king is represented in audience,

save on the battle field, in all the occupations of daily life except in the hunt of wild beasts, the queen is represented at his side, and with a train of attending women as large as that of the men who wait upon the king. In all the scenes of daily life, women have an equal part with the men. They receive in their homes and they extend a welcome to both men and women; they are seen wending their way in the market place, they are seated with the men even at the royal banquets, they take part in all the domestic ceremonies of the people; they hold a semi-religious office in the temples erected to the Egyptian gods; they appear at the burial of the dead of kings and also at those more sacred memorial services periodically held at the tombs of the kings, and even of the common people. This position of woman thus so graphically told on sculptured wall and hieroglyphic inscription gives us moderns one particular surprise. The single place where she does not appear, and where we would certainly expect to find her, is the kitchen. In all the scenes depicting the preparations for a feast either in the palace of the king, or in one of his landholding aristocrats, the cook—cap on head and holding cooking utensils in his hands—and the scullions, busy preparing the fish and the game and the vegetables, are all men. On the other hand, those bearing the branches and flowers to decorate the banquet hall, and garlands for the guests are invariably women.

If the position of the slaves attached to the temples was probably the least to be dreaded, there is no doubt that the greatest cruelties, the most exhausting and dangerous service, became the portion of those captives who were retained as the slaves of the king, and who thenceforth engaged on his public works. It is nowhere indicated that the Egyptians knew the use of the lever, the crane or those other mechanical devices which more than ought else differentiate modern from ancient civilization. The absence of those mechanical contrivances made the labors incident to the erection of their monuments a stupendous undertaking, and a marvelous achievement. The pillars of the temples, the statuary illustrating and decorating them, the huge blocks of stone which formed the pyramids, were all taken from their quarries, and after their completion, were conveyed to distant points and put up in place by human strength alone. The roads

over which they were transported were oiled, and those colossal pieces were drawn on sledges by human beings; sometimes river transportation on huge barges, but rowed by human beings, lessened a little that vast labor; by human strength alone were they erected to form their intended portion of temple, monument, palace, or pyramid, or, as one single piece of greatness to become the obelisk.

The heaviest part of the labor connected with all these public works in those centuries when successful wars supplied the Egyptian kings with their myriads of captives, was performed by the slaves of the king. The death toll exacted by such labors must have been large, especially when the great obelisks were put up, and the carved columns of the temples and palaces were set in place. The pictures telling of these labors of the slaves always represent the overseer with whip in hand urging the workers on to renewed exertion in their already almost superhuman efforts. Sometimes the illustrations are even more indicative of hardships, when the toilers are chained in gangs.

Another division of public works which caused enormous loss of life among the slaves was the construction of public roads, especially those which reached across the surrounding deserts. These roads were not only to enable the king to extend his dominions, but also they were new avenues of increasing trade, a trade so extensive, so all embracing, that it brought to Egypt besides the domestic animals of other countries, wild animals from distant regions, to be placed on the hunting preserves of the monarch and his favorite subjects. Up the Nile and over these roads came also the agricultural products and the manufactured articles of the other civilized and semi-civilized countries of Asia and Africa, and even from those ancient nations of Europe bordering the Mediterranean.

The lot of slaves on the estates and in the city homes of the very rich could not have been of so great hardship as in the countries of Asia or even in Greece and Rome. The most revolting features of domestic slavery as practiced in those countries, in great degree were absent in Egypt. As the Egyptians were monogamists, and the wife always held her place as the equal of her husband in the home, and as even the kings did not arrogate

to themselves the right of concubinage, there was not that degradation of the female slave, which was established in other ancient nations.

The number of attendants for a wealthy land owner was about equally divided between male and female slaves; a fact that taken with others well established, indicates the better condition of sexes. That these slaves of the wealthy living on large estates, were more or less engaged in various handicrafts is proved. Many of the objects required were there manufactured and the large life of the owners gave to his slaves varied duties and occupations. The personal attendants of both the man and his wife are clearly indicated, and as the clothing was then nearly the same for man and woman, and each indulged in the same luxuries of the toilet,—luxuries scarcely equalled anywhere in these modern times—the husband and the wife had a train of personal attendants about equal in number. With the difference in the names of luxuries and habits, in reading an account of the manner of life of the wealthy land-owners of Egypt in the days of the Pharoahs, one might easily believe that he was reading an account of the doings of an English lord or an American multimillionaire, or more correctly, perhaps, of the son of an American multimillionaire. We are told that this wealthy landholder, although not dependant on any position, often did hold important office, that he had both a home in the city—generally the capital—and an extensive villa in the country. On his large estate he had a game preserve, and, in order that he might also have the wild animals of other and distant lands, slaves constructed roads leading thither, and thence slaves led them and added them to the wild game native to the country. If no natural lake were on his estate, an artificial one furnished him with the excitement of fishing when the charms of the chase palled upon him.

Chariots, drawn in the earliest centuries by the tamed wild asses of Egypt, and later by the beautiful horses originally imported from Arabia, awaited his fancy and that of his wife when they desired an outing. When the motion of the chariot was no longer agreeable to tired body and jaded nerves, a litter carried by slaves was ready to transport him whither he wished. The kings possessed hundreds of chariots and litters and slaves to

attend the animals and to bear the litters. The home of this Egyptian lord, whether in the capital, or set amid lawns and flower gardens and surrounded by streams and fruit arbors, was always large and completely furnished. The representations of Egyptian furniture, as the French say, leave nothing to be desired in the way of comfort and elegance.

For the care of these homes and the direction of the work of the slaves, this over-lord had a major-domo, who relieved him of the care of all the details. How often, or if ever, a slave became this major domo cannot be ascertained, but as such a position was held by slaves at the time of the ascendancy of Greece and Rome, we may feel sure that such was often the case in Egypt at an earlier period. When this landlord of Egypt went on the chase, the slaves bore his arms, carried his provisions, set the nets, beat the forest or the desert for the wild game, and returned laden with the spoils of the master's skill. When this lord went fishing slaves bore the rods and the spears, rowed the boats and returned with the baskets laden with the master's luck in fishing. All these events in the life of this lord are not told in so many words; they are even better depicted, for they are sculptured on solid rock and wall.

Not much definite information is given concerning the work of the slaves in manufacturing pursuits, as is abundantly told of the slaves of Greece and Rome. The manufactures of Egypt were the most varied and highly valued of all the ancient world. To the Egyptians belong the discovery of the making of glass, not to the Phoenicians. The products of Egyptian looms were famed through many centuries; the fabrics that yet envelope the mummies are proof of their excellence. Doubtless in the making of the coarse, woven fabrics, and in any other work of manufacturing that demanded small skill, the slaves had a part. It is distinctly stated that the sculptors used their labor, and in the manufacture of the coarser kinds of pottery, it is recorded that the slaves were the only actual workers, while others directed their labor.

Were the Egyptians themselves, who were certainly advanced in civilization, never touched by the sight of the hard tasks and evident misery of the slaves of the king? Perhaps, when, in rid-

ing from place to place in their chariot, the rich lord and his lady came upon those gangs of slaves enduring the hardships and exhausting labors while the monuments to the reigning Pharaohs were taking shape, they felt pity and sympathy stirring within them; yet doubtless their sentiment went no further than a wish that the king possessed taskmasters who were less severe, and would less seldom rain blows on the backs of the bondmen. However they knew that the fortune of war had made those human creatures slaves to the king, and that his great works must be completed by their labor. Perhaps, again, when this overlord and his lady wended their way back to their villa, or returned to their gorgeous city home, they thought again of those struggling masses of human beings, and as they gave some order to their own slaves, they favorably contrasted their condition with that of the slaves of the king, and thought that those who had entered domestic servitude ought to rejoice at their good fortune!

All Egyptologists concede that it was during the reign of a king of the Hyksos dynasty, or those darker visaged Shepherd kings that Joseph was sold by his brethern and went down into slavery in Egypt. Here we come to the records of the Old Testament and the account of the sojourn of the people of Israel, the chosen people of God, when they dwelt in "the land of Egypt, in the house of bondage." No other pen could add to that account one jot or tittle that would render more complete, more graphic the history of those latest slaves of the Egyptians.

The most attractive of the pictures presented is that of the Egyptian princess, that daughter of the reigning Pharaoh, who with her attendant maids, repaired to the banks of the Nile to bathe in its waters, and who, among the rushes, discovered the basket wherein rested the future deliverer of his people. The fact that the princess was guarded alone by her women offers a proof of the correct reading of the Egyptologists that through all the centuries of the existence of the ancient kingdom of Egypt, the position of women was one of equality and freedom.

(To be Continued.)

THE WICK HOUSE AND ITS HISTORICAL ENVIRONMENT

BY ANDREW M. SHERMAN

FOUR miles southwest of Morristown, Morris County, New Jersey, "as the crow flies," there now, in 1909, stands a large, unpainted (or perhaps, more strictly speaking, scantily painted), one-story and a-half frame building of the colonial New England style of architecture, known far and wide as the Wick house; in Revolutionary annals it is sometimes spoken of as "Wick Hall."

It is the only house now in the vicinity; and although it is usually occupied, it seems to the sympathetic visitor at all acquainted with its history and its historical environment a lone sentinel in the midst of scenes almost vocal with the story of the privations, sacrifices and sufferings of the patriot fathers, the unmistakable and numerous marks of whose camps during the awful winter of 1779-1780, lie all about it, north, south, east and west. Indeed, some of the Revolutionary camp-sites are within a few hundred rods of this old, historic house.

The Wick house was built and owned, and in pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary days was occupied by Henry Wick; hence its name. From "A Branch of the Woodruff Stock, Part III," by the Honorable Francis E. Woodruff, it is gleaned that Henry Wick was born on the twenty-third day of October, 1707, on Long Island, N. Y.; that in 1725 he married Mary Cooper, and that in 1737 he was living "near Bridge Hampton on the way to Sagg In 1746 Nathan Cooper of Roxbury (Chester) township, and Henry Wick of 'Suffolk Co., L. I.,' jointly bought 1114 acres on the Passaic, and in 1748 Cooper released his half to Henry Wick of 'Morristown, N. J.;" so he doubtless came here between the two dates. With later purchases the 'Wick tract' came to measure over 1400 acres

and has become widely known through the wintering (1780-81) on it and nearby of our Revolutionary army."

The Wick house seems to have been built between the years 1746 and 1748, and is, therefore, about one hundred and sixty-two years old. The material for the house is said to have been brought into the county from the outside: "imported," as may very properly have been remarked in those early days of rough gravel roads and far distances. It must have been constructed of a superior quality of material, so far, at least, as the frame-work is concerned, for it is apparently in as good condition now as when erected more than a century and a half ago.

That this house is sometimes referred to as "Wick Hall," is sufficiently explained by the facts that while most of the dwelling houses in Morris County, at the period under review, were constructed of logs, this was a frame structure, and of unusual dimensions for those primitive days. Then, again, the large number and unusual dimensions of its rooms, in comparison with the cramped quarters of the average log house, fairly entitled it to the name. And if anything else had been needed to warrant the application of the aristocratic, old-country name, its fine situation, the extensive and charming southerly view from the front, including hill and dale and forests, and the sunsets, often superb, would have fully supplied the need.

As will be observed in the picture of the Wick house accompanying this article, the front entrance is by way of a door in the middle of the building, which is now protected by a plain portico. This door was originally hung on what were known as "strap hinges;" and on the outside of the door was a knocker in the form of a lion's head. Hinges and knocker have both given place to more modern appliances. The front door, now in one piece, originally was composed of two pieces, after the Dutch style.

1. Major Joseph Bloomfield, of Colonel Elias Dayton's Regiment, Third Battalion, Second Establishment, of the New Jersey troops of the Continental Line, was quartered, during the winter of 1776-1777, in the family of Captain Henry Wick; and in a letter written by Major Bloomfield from "Camp Valley Forge, April 16th, 1778," he twice refers to the Wick house as "Wick Hall." The letter was addressed to: "Mr. Henry Wick, at Wick Hall, Morris County. Favored by Lieut. Kinney." A letter written by Dr. Moses Bloomfield, father of Major Bloomfield, from Princeton, N. J., "May ye 7th, 1778," was addressed to "Mr. Henry Wick, at Wick Hall, Morris Town."

A huge stone chimney, or "chimney stack," as it is sometimes called, about 8 feet by 12 feet, occupies the middle of the interior of the house. The portion of the chimney now appearing above the ridge-pole is of brick, and of modern dimensions, but the original chimney on the interior remains unchanged as to materials and dimensions.

The front door opens into a hallway about 4 feet by 8 feet square. In front of the visitor as he enters the hallway is a closet, whose back is the front of the huge stone chimney described. On the right of the hallway is a door leading into what in Revolutionary days was the living, or sitting room; and back of the living room is a small bedroom, which occupies the north-east corner of the old house. On the left of the hallway is a door leading into what was the parlor; and back of the parlor, on the northwest corner of the house is another bedroom, which seems to have been the spare room, and it is now so called. This latter bedroom is about 10 feet by 12 feet square; and a single window on the northwest side furnishes light and air for its occupants. This spare bedroom is one of the most interesting portions of the house, as will be seen later.

On the back of the house, and occupying all the space between the two small bedrooms is a long, but somewhat narrow kitchen, access to which from the inside is through a door leading both from the living room and from the parlor; and on the rear of the house is a single door leading from the outside into the spacious kitchen. On the second floor of the house are two finished rooms, with two windows opening out of each end room.

In front of the Wick house once stood a black locust tree, said by those who saw it while it was yet standing, as late as the year 1852, to have been about two and a half feet in diameter. The immense stump of this tree, almost level with the ground, and fully three feet in diameter, is still to be seen. At the east end of the house was a large red cedar tree; and near by were several black cherry trees, the decayed stumps of which, as visitors testify, were still to be seen as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. A large tree, either maple or elm, now furnishes shade in the summer time for the front of the house; and a picket fence, of not strictly modern pattern, only a few

feet removed from the house-front, adds to the present picturesque appearance of the place. The barns and other out-buildings were and are well in the rear of the house; so far, indeed, as not to be seen in the picture shown in connection with this article.

Before relating the circumstances which particularly make the Wick house famous, let us pass on down the hill to the north-westward, toward Mendham, about a mile. On the right hand, standing on a gracefully rounded knoll, somewhat back from the road, is a two-story and a half stone house, with portico over the front door at the right hand corner, and a veranda occupying a portion, at least, of the house-front. To the left of the picturesque background is a pond, or "lake," as some call it; Leddell's pond is the name popularly applied to this pretty body of water, which, by the way, furnishes "power" for "Leddell's mills," situated to the left of the house.

On the exact site of this modern stone house, known as the Leddell house, there stood, in Revolutionary days, a frame building,² of practically the same dimensions and general appearance as the present structure. This frame house was owned and occupied by Dr. William Leddell, second, whose strong personality and the far from unimportant part he played in the Revolution and in subsequent wars, chiefly give fame to the Leddell place. Not only was he a physician, but he was the son of a physician, also. His father, William Leddell, was a French naval surgeon "of the high seas," (by tradition from Alsace), stationed in Cuba, who resigned from the service and settled in New Jersey. . . . His name is given as William Leddell, Gent." . . . It is worthy of mention that the good doctor was something of a botanist; and in the rear of his house, as I have been informed by a living descendant, he had extensive flower gardens, which are said to have been the finest for miles around.

In the latter part of November, 1779, a body of American

2. The frame house occupied by Dr. Leddell in Revolutionary days was burned sometime previous to the year 1818; the fire having been caused by flames from the oven-flue. The Dutch oven in the kitchen was being heated, preparatory to baking. The soot in the flue taking fire, blazed above the chimney top, and sparks falling on the dry roof set fire to it.

troops, unheralded, made their appearance in the vicinity of Dr. Leddell's place. It was in the afternoon, as reliable tradition informs us, that the troops arrived. Dr. Leddell was absent from home at the time of the arrival of the soldiers. They marched down the road leading from the Wick house, and took possession of the wooded hill a little to the northeastward of the Leddell place; and only a short distance from the house, they built their camp-fires, and began the construction of the log huts which were to shelter them. For fuel and material the soldiers cut down the doctor's trees right and left.

The blazing campfires were so close to the house that the women folks at home became alarmed lest the house take fire. Immediately on the return of Dr. Leddell he sent his black slave servant, "Sam," to the officer in command of the American troops, requesting his presence at the house. On the prompt arrival of the officer, Mr. Leddell gave expression to his fears for the safety of the house, and asked that the campfires be built further away; and this was done.

During the winter of 1779-1780, there were eleven brigades of the American army under Washington encamped in Morris County; ten of infantry and one of artillery. Some of the infantry brigades camped near the Wick house. On the opposite side of the road from the house, and down in the meadows, and over on the side of Blachly's hill, only a short distance, the New Jersey brigade was encamped in rude log huts, with stone fire-places.

A few hundred rods to the eastward of the house, and on the easterly corner of the Jockey Hollow road leading toward Morristown, General Hand's brigade of about seven hundred men was camped during the winter of 1779-1780, the camp fronting on the "Fort road" and siding on the Jockey Hollow road. Numerous heaps of stones used in the chimnies of the soldier's huts may still be seen; a long pile running parallel to the "Fort road" being conspicuous. In the winter of 1780-1781, this camp was occupied by Pennsylvania troops, in command of "Mad Anthony Wayne." It was here, on January 1, 1781, that Wayne's troops revolted. The camp was so near the Wick house that the noises of the revolted were heard by Mrs. Wick,

who was ill at the time. Down the "Fort road" a short distance, and off a little to the left, there were two brigades of Connecticut troops.

Five minutes brisk walking will suffice to take one from the Wick house to the camp-site of the Connecticut brigades. It is only a few years since, that, with Emory McClintock, LL. D., as a competent guide, I visited this camp-site; and among the interesting things pointed out to me by Mr. McClintock, were the ruins of a stone oven, used by the soldiers for baking bread. The stones once composing the oven, now lie in a circular heap, as if they had fallen in of their own weight. Numerous heaps of stones once composing the hut-chimnies of the Connecticut soldiers may be seen, some of them apparently undisturbed since they fell. The Traces of the camp alignment are vivid reminders of the actual presence here, during the Revolution, of the two brigades.

If the tourist proceeds up the Jocky Hollow road a short distance, in the direction of Morristown he will see the camp-sites of two Maryland brigades, one on either side of the road. Let us suppose the tourist is standing between the two Maryland brigade camp-sites, and has turned his face backward toward the corner of the Jocky Hollow and Mendham roads. On his right hand, just below the reservoir of the Morris aqueduct, and on the side hill, he will see the site of one of the brigades. On his left, as he still faces toward the intersection of the same two roads, he will see the camp-site of another brigade; this camp seems to have run parallel to the road for quite a distance. Off to the left, opposite to the reservoir, and somewhat back from the highway, lying just behind a worm fence, are the ruins of a stone oven, used by the Maryland troops for baking bread. The ruins are circular in shape, and perceptibly concave on the upper side; and the oven has the appearance of having but recently collapsed. Not a few of the stones still bear the marks of fire and smoke.

If now the tourist walks down the Jocky Hollow road in the direction of the Mendham road, he will see on the left, just before reaching the terminus of the former road, a large black oak tree, standing a little up from the highway. In front of this

tree is a small square granite stone, bearing the following inscription:

"In Memory of Captain Adam Bettin Shot in the Mutiny Jan. 1, 1781. Erected by the Morristown Chapter D. A. R."

Up the hill slope almost to the eastward from the Bettin monument, and only a short distance away, is a level piece of ground which was cleared by General Wayne's troops to afford free movements of the light artillery planted there for use in case of attack by the enemy; for, from the summit of this hill, now known at "Fort Hill," cannon could sweep the entire surrounding locality. Two or three lines of fortifications, partly of stones and partly of logs and brushwood, were also thrown up on the summit of "Fort Hill;" traces of the former may still be seen.

It is a matter of history that during the encampment of the brigades of Washington's army in the vicinity of the Wick house the sufferings of the soldiers were indescribable. During the winter of 1779-1780, Captain Henry Wick, the owner of the Wick house, was absent from home, serving with a company of Morris County cavalry; and again quoting the Honorable Mr. Woodruff, it (the cavalry) "did good service in the war and engaged in at least one sharp fight, though frequently detailed as guard for Gov. Livingston and the Privy Council. . . ." As an illustration of the extreme sufferings of the American soldiers in the winter mentioned, it may be said, that some of the Jersey troops in going barefooted, or partially so, to and from the Wick house, presumably for camp supplies of some sort, not infrequently left blood marks in the paths over which they traveled.

In one of the Jersey regiments was a William Tuttle, who subsequently became a captain. He was a frequent visitor at the Wick house during the winter of 1779-1780; and as, after the close of the Revolution, Captain Tuttle married a daughter of Captain Henry Wick, it is a justifiable inference that something beside the need of camp supplies attracted him to the house on the hill. Tuttle unquestionably visited the Wick house during the winter above mentioned, for it is he who has in-

formed us of the blood tracks between the Jersey camp and the house.

About a mile and a quarter almost due north from the Wick house is a copse of locust trees, under which lie buried at least one hundred Revolutionary soldiers, most of whom died in the hospital of the two Pennsylvania brigades encamped in the vicinity in the winter of 1779-1780.³ These patriot graves may now be reached from the Wick house by taking a private road at the rear of the house, and following it for a mile or more through the woods and fields. No doubt this same road was used by the Pennsylvania troops as a means of getting to the Wick house and vicinity.

Captain Henry Wick, the owner of the Wick house, died on the twenty-first of December, 1780, only ten days previous to the revolt of Wayne's troops. Mrs. Wick, at the time was in poor health; the recent decease of her husband doubtless contributing in no small measure to her illness. The noises consequent upon the unbridled carousals of the intoxicated soldiers, greatly annoyed her. Sometime during the day, she had an ill turn; and the immediate presence of a physician became imperative. Upon her only daughter then at home, Tempe (an abbreviation of Temperence), devolved the duty of "going for the doctor." The family physician was Dr. William Leddell, who lived about a mile to the northwestward, toward Mendham.

After carrying her mother down into the cellar, the more completely to insure her safety during her solitary sojourn in the house, Tempe proceeded to the barn, where she saddled and bridled and mounted her favorite young riding horse, and sped away down the hill toward Dr. Leddell's. Her errand was soon accomplished; and she lost no time in remounting her horse.

As she turned her head homeward, preparatory for a start, two or three intoxicated soldiers, some of the revolvers, or perhaps stragglers, made their appearance. One of them seized the horse's bridle, and ordered Tempe Wick to dismount, as

3. The mounds of many of these graves, as I have been informed by a long-time resident of Morristown, who himself saw them, could be distinctly seen less than forty years ago. The mounds are now so completely obliterated that not even a trace of them is to be seen.

they had use for the animal. This occurred in front of Dr. Leddell's house. Tempe Wick was strongly attached to her young horse, and was, therefore, disinclined to give him into the hands of drunken soldiers; so she resorted to a very clever ruse to retain him. Assuming the air of submission to the soldier's demand, she entreated him to treat her horse kindly, and, if possible, to return him to her. The soldier was entirely thrown off his guard by the seeming acquiescence of the fair horsewoman, in consequence of which he released his grip of the bridle. Immediately Tempe touched the whip to the side of her horse, and he shot away from the soldiers like an arrow from a bow drawn by a strong arm. As the young woman rode away from them toward home, one or more of the soldiers fired after her; the object probably being to intimidate the bold rider into slackening her speed, that they might make another and more successful attempt to secure the horse.

But Miss Wick, with a fresh application of the whip to her pet horse, sped up the long hill leading to her home, on reaching which, the horse was driven round to the kitchen door, on the north side of the house. Dismounting hastily, Tempe led the horse into the big kitchen, thence into the parlor, and through the parlor into the spare bed chamber on the northwest corner of the house. Immediately closing and fastening the wooden shutter of the one window in the room, she drew from the bedstead the generous feather bed of those days, and placed it on the floor.⁴ She then tied her horse to a ring-bolt in some way attached to a timber in the room, adjusting the feather bed so that the horse should stand upon it; by so doing the stamping of the animal would be less likely to be heard on the outside of the house. But notwithstanding this clever act, the horse stamped through the feather bed, and left the marks of his iron shoes on the floor. With a fond caress Tempe left her pet, and going into the cellar, brought her mother upstairs.

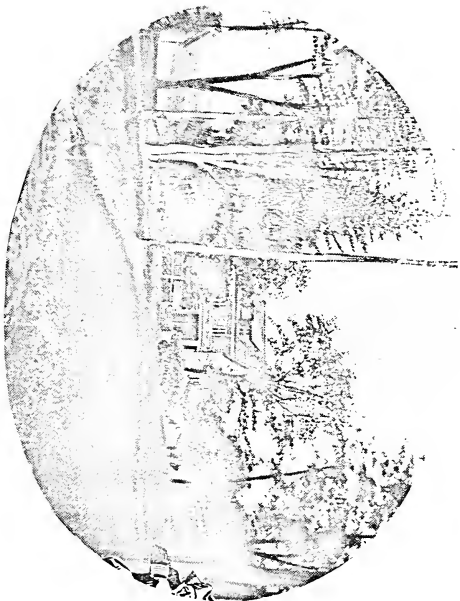
Hastening on foot up the long hill to the Wick house, the

4. Mrs. McClough, who lived in the vicinity of the Wick house, in Revolutionary days, and was acquainted with all the circumstances of the horse episode, is authority for the statement that a featherbed was placed for the horse to stand on. From Mrs. McClough the statement has come down to the present writer through a relative who is now alive, and residing not far from the Wick house.

baffled soldiers searched the barn and woods for the horse they so devoutly coveted, but in vain. Crestfallen they departed from the premises. In the spare bed chamber the horse was kept, with shutters securely closed, some say three weeks and others say several days.

Until within a few years, the marks of the horse's iron shoes on the floor of the spare bed chamber of the Wick house have been visible; and several persons have informed the writer that they have seen these marks. They could be seen today, but that a new floor has been laid over that on which the horse stood. It is, however, one of the pleasant memories of my life that I have two or three times traversed the rooms of the famous Wick house, including the room where, by an ingenious ruse, a horse was hidden from intoxicated soldiers several days.

Perhaps it should be said in conclusion that the window of the room in the Wick house where the horse was hidden, may be seen in the picture accompanying this article; it is on the first floor and farthest from the front of the house.



THE LEDDELL HOUSE, MORRIS COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

THE MANORS OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N. Y.

BY WALTER W. SPOONER

THE subject of manorial grants, with the exact privileges (as well as limitations), involved, is one of the most interesting but least understood aspects of American colonial history. The following article by Mr. Spooner (a former editor of this Magazine) presents the distinctive phases of the subject in a very lucid and able manner. It is reprinted by the courtesy of the publishers from Mr. Spooner's book, "History of Westchester County," pp. 184-192.
—EDITOR.

With the beginning of the eighteenth century the whole of Westchester County had come under definite tenure—a period of some seventy-five years after the first organized settlement on Manhattan Island having been required for that eventuality. With the exception of a few localities of quite restricted area—namely, on the Sound the Rye, Harrison, Mamaroneck, New Rochelle, Eastchester, and Westchester tracts and settlements; on the upper Hudson the Ryke and Kranckhyte patents, upon which the village (now city) of Peekskill was built; and in the interior the disputed White Plains lands, the Bedford tract, and some minor strips bought or occupied by men from the older settlements on the Sound,—all of Westchester County, as originally conveyed by the Indians under deeds of sale to the whites, was parceled out into a small number of great estates or patents representing imposing single proprietorships, as distinguished from ordinary homestead lots or moderate tracts taken up incidentally to the progress of bona fide settlement.

These great original proprietorships were, indeed, only nine in number, as follows: (1) Cortlandt Manor, the property of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, which went after his death to his children jointly and was by them preserved intact for many years; (2) Philipseburgh Manor, founded by Frederick Philipse, and

retained as a whole by the Philipse Family until confiscated in Revolutionary times; (3) Fordham Manor, established by John Archer, subsequently forfeited for mortgage indebtedness to Cornelius Steenwyck, and by him and his wife willed to the Nether Dutch Congregation in New York, which continued in sole ownership of it until the middle of the eighteenth century; (4) Morrisania Manor, the old "Bronxland," built up into a single estate by Colonel Lewis Morris, by him devised to his nephew, Lewis Morris the younger, who had the property erected into a manor, and whose descendants continued to own it entire for generations; (5) Pelham Manor, originally, as established under Thomas Pell, its first lord, an estate of 9,166 acres, but by his nephew John, the second lord, divided into two sections, whereof one (the larger division) was sold to the Huguenots, and the other was preserved as a manor until after the death of the third lord; (6) Scarsdale Manor, the estate of Colonel Caleb Heathcote, which for the most part remained the property of his heirs until sold by partition in 1775; and (7, 8, 9) the Three Great Patents of Central Westchester, granted to Heathcote and associates on the basis of purchases from the Indians, and by the patentees gradually subsold, mainly to settlers, who in the course of time occupied the lands. In the nine estates and patents thus enumerated were contained, at a rough estimate, about 225,000 of the 300,000 acres belonging to the old county of Westchester.

It will be observed that with the single exception of Pelham the six manors of the county long retained their territorial integrity. A small portion of the Manor of Philipseburgh, it is true, was transferred by the Philipses to the younger branch of the Van Cortlandts, but this was a strictly friendly conveyance, the two families being closely allied by marriage. Even in the three manors where no second lord succeeded to exclusive proprietorship—Cortlandt, Fordham, and Scarsdale—sales of the manorial lands in fee to strangers were extremely rare, and it was an almost invariable rule that persons settling upon them, as upon Philipseburgh, Morrisania, and Pelham Manors (where the ownership devolved upon successive single heirs), did not acquire possession of the soil which they occupied, but merely

held it as tenants. The disintegration of the manors, and the substitution of small landed proprietorship for tenantry, was therefore a very slow process. Throughout the colonial period tenant farming continued to be the prevailing system of rural economy outside of the few settlements and tracts which from the start were independent of the manor grants—a system which, however, did not operate to the disadvantage of population in the manor lands. Upon this point de Lancey, the historian of the manors, says: “It will give a correct idea of the great extent and thoroughness of the manorial settlement of Westchester County, as well as the satisfactory nature of that method of settlement to its inhabitants, although a surprise, probably, to many readers, when it is stated that in the year 1769 one-third of the population of the county lived on the two manors of Cortlandt and Philipseburgh alone. The manors of Fordham, Morrisania, Pelham, and Scarsdale, lying nearer to the City of New York than these two, and more accessible than either, save only the lower end of Philipseburgh, were, if anything, much more settled. It is safe to say that upward of five-eighths of the people of Westchester County in 1769 were inhabitants of the six manors.”

The distinguishing characteristics of the manors are of much interest, though little remembered at this distance of time.¹ First, it should be understood that the manors, one and all, were only ordinary landed estates, granted to certain English subjects in America who, while popularly styled “lords” of the manors, enjoyed no distinguished rank whatever, and were in no way elevated titularly, by virtue of their manorial proprietorships, above the common people. In no case was a manorial grant in Westchester County conferred upon a member of the British nobility, or even upon an individual boasting the minor rank of baronet; and in no case, moreover, was such a grant bestowed in recognition of services to the crown or as a mark of special honor by the sovereign. Without exception, the proprietors of the manors were perfectly plain, untitled gentlemen. Yet, says de Lancey, “we often, at this day, see them written of and hear them spoken

1. Readers desiring a more detailed account are referred to Edward Floyd de Lancey's “Origin and History of the Manors,” in Scharf's “History of Westchester County.”

of as nobles. 'Lord Philipse' and 'Lord Pell' are familiar examples of this ridiculous blunder in Westchester County. No grant of a feudal manor in England at any time from their first introduction ever carried with it a title, and much less did any grant of a New York freehold manor ever do so. Both related to land only. The term Lord of a Manor is a technical one, and means simply the owner, the possessor of a manor—nothing more. Its use as a title is simply a mark of intense or ignorant republican provincialism. 'Lord' as a prefix to a manor owner's name was never used in England nor in the province of New York."

The manor was a very ancient institution in England, but by the statute of *quia emptores*, enacted in 1290, the erection of new manors in that kingdom was forever put to an end. The old English manors, founded in the Middle Ages, were of course based upon the feudal system, involving military service by the fief at the will of his lord, and, in general, the complete subjection of the fief. The whole feudal system of land tenure having been abolished by a statute of Charles II. in 1660, and the system of "free and common socage" (meaning the right to hold land unvexed by the obligation of feudal service) having been substituted in its stead, New York, both as a proprietary province under the Duke of York and subsequently as a royal province, never exhibited any traces of feudality in the matter of land tenures, but always had an absolutely free yeomanry. But it was never contemplated that New York or any of the other provinces in America should develop a characteristically democratic organization of government or basis of society. Titled persons were sent to rule over them, and, particularly in New York, there was a manifest tendency to render the general aspect of administration and social life as congenial as possible to people of high birth and elegant breeding. Moreover, there being no provision for the creation of an American titled aristocracy, it was deemed expedient to offer some encouragement to men of aristocratic desires, and the institution of the manor was selected as the most practicable concession to the aristocratic instinct—a concession which, while carrying with it no title of nobility, did carry a certain weighty dignity, based upon the one universally

recognized foundation for all true original aristocracy—large landed proprietorship, coupled with formally constituted authority.

The establishment of new manors in England was discontinued by the statute of 1290 for the sole reason that at that period no crown lands remained out of which such additional manors could be formed, the essential preliminary to a manor being a land grant by the sovereign to a subject. But in the American provinces, where extensive unacquired lands were still awaiting tenure, the manor system was capable of wide application at discretion; and in New York and some of the other provinces it was the policy of the English government from the beginning to encourage the organization of manors. "The charter of Pennsylvania," said the learned Chief Judge Denio of the New York Court of Appeals, in his opinion in the Rensselaerswyck case," empowered Penn, the patentee, to erect manors and to alien and grant parts of the lands to such purchasers as might wish to purchase, 'their heirs and assigns, to be held of the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, by such services, customs, and rents as should seem fit to said William Penn, etc., and not immediately of the said King Charles, his heirs or successors,' notwithstanding the statute of *quia emptores*." Similarly in New York, the manor grants issued during the time that it remained a proprietary province (namely, those to Thomas Pell in 1666, and to John Archer in 1671) were made by the authority and in the name of the Duke of York as proprietor, and not of the king. After New York was changed into a royal province, the manor grants were continued by the authority and in the name of the king."

The privileges attaching to the manor grants in Westchester County varied. All of them, however, had one fundamental characteristic. Each manor was, in very precise language, appointed to be a separate and independent organization of jurisdiction, entirely detached from other established political divisions. To give the reader an idea of the formality with which such separation was made, we reproduce the wording of one of the manor grants upon this point, which is a fair specimen. In his letters patent to John Archer for the Manor of Fordham, Governor Lovelace says: "I doe grant unto ye said John

Archer, his heirs and assigns, that the house which he shall erect, together with ye said parcel of land and premises, shall be forever hereafter held, claimed, reputed and be an entire and enfranchised township, manor, and place of itself, and shall always, from time to time and at all times hereafter, have, hold, and enjoy like and equal privileges and immunities with any town enfranchised or manor within this government, and shall in no manner or way be subordinate or belonging unto, have any dependence upon, or in any wise be under the rule, order, or direction of any riding, township, place, or jurisdiction, either upon the main or Long Island."

Thus, first of all, and as its great essential characteristic, the manorial estate was always made a political entity. As such it was under the government of its propretor and his subordinates, who, however, in all their acts were subject to the general laws of the land, simply applying those laws as circumstances and conditions required. According to the theory of the old English manors, a so-called "Court Baron" was an indispensable attachment of every manor—that is, a court for the trial of civil cases, over which the lord or his steward presided, the jurors being chosen from among the freehold tenants. There was also usually a so-called "Court Leet," which has been described as "a court of record having a similar jurisdiction to the old sheriff's 'Tourns' or migratory courts held by the sheriff in the different districts or 'hundreds' of his county, for the punishment of minor offenses and the preservation of the peace," which was provided for in order that the lords of manors "might administer justice to their tenants at home." In all the Westchester County manor grants, except Fordham, authority is given to the grantee to hold "one Court Leet and one Court Baron." This privilege was not always availed of; for example, in the Manor of Scarsdale the manorial courts were never organized. It is worthy of note in this connection that among the manor lords of Westchester County were several of the early judges of the province, including John Pell (second lord of Pelham Manor), who was the first judge of Westchester County; Caleb Heathcote, of Scarsdale Manor, who served as county judge for twenty-seven years, and was also an admiralty judge; Lewis

Morris, of Morrisania, one of the most famous of the royal chief justices; and the second Frederick Philipse, who was a puisne judge of the Supreme Court. To this list should be added the name of the celebrated chief justice and royal governor, James de Lancey, who married the eldest daughter of Caleb Heathcote.

In addition to their civil functions, the proprietors of four of the manors (Cortlandt, Philipseburgh, Pelham, and Morrisania) enjoyed the right of advowson and church patronage, under which they had the power to exercise controlling influence in church matters within their domains. The prevailing sectarian tendencies of different localities in Westchester County during the colonial era and for many years subsequently were owing mainly to the particular religious preferences and activities of the respective manor lords of those localities. In Westchester, Eastchester, and Rye the Church of England early secured a firm foundation through the zeal of Colonel Caleb Heathcote, of Scarsdale, who was its earnest supporter. A similar influence, with a similar result, was exercised in the Yonkers land by the second Frederick Philipse, who had been educated in England, where he became attached to the Established Church, and who as proprietor of the lower part of Philipseburgh Manor founded Saint John's Church at Yonkers, which to this day maintains the leading position in the community. On the other hand, at Tarrytown, on the upper part of Philipseburgh Manor, the Dutch Reformed Church enjoyed supremacy from the beginning, on account of the patronage accorded it by the first lord and by his son and successor in that division of the manor, Adolph.

Upon one of the Westchester manors, Cortlandt, was bestowed an extraordinary privilege, that of being represented in the general assembly of the province by a special member. This privilege was granted to no other manor of New York, except Rensselaerswyck and Livingston, although it was enjoyed also by the two borough towns, Westchester and Schenectady. But it was provided that the exercise of the privilege, so far as Cortlandt Manor was concerned, was not to begin until twenty years after the grant (*i. e.*, in 1717). At the expiration of that time, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, his heirs or assigns, had full authority

to return and send a discreet inhabitant in and of the said manor to be a representative of the said house, to have and enjoy such privilege as the other representatives returned and sent from any other county and manors." Cortlandt Manor did not, however, choose a representative in the assembly until 1734, when Philip Verplanck was elected to sit for it. He continued to serve in that capacity for thirty-four years, being succeeded by Pierre Van Cortlandt, who remained a member of the assembly until 1775. Notwithstanding the exceptional privilege of representation given to Cortlandt Manor as a manor, the other manors of Westchester County were equally able to make their influence felt in that body. In addition to the special members from Cortlandt Manor and Westchester town, the county as a whole was entitled to representation by two general delegates. Heathcote, John Pell, the Philippses, and the Morrisises all sat at various times for the county.

The original purpose of the manor grants being to encourage the development of the semi-aristocratic system for which they provided, no onerous charges in the way of special taxation were assessed upon the manor proprietors. In each grant was incorporated a provision for the payment of annual "quit-rent" to the provincial government, but the amount fixed was in every case merely nominal. The various quit-rents exacted were, for the Manor of Pelham, as originally patented to Thomas Pell, "one lamb on the first day of May (if the lamb shall be demanded)"; for Pelham, as repatented to John Pell, "twenty shillings, good lawful money of this province, at the City of New York, on the five and twentieth day of March"; for Fordham, "twenty bushels of good peas, upon the first day of March, when it shall be demanded"; for Philipseburgh, "on the feast day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, . . . the annual rent of four pounds twelve shillings current money of our said province"; for Morrisania, "on the feast day of the Annunciation of our Blessed Virgin, . . . the annual rent of six shillings"; for Cortlandt, "on the feast day of our Blessed Virgin, the yearly rent of forty shillings, current money of our said province"; and for Scarsdale, "five pounds current money of New York, upon the nativity of our Lord." Appended to most of the

quit-rent leases was the significant statement that the prescribed payment was to be "in lieu of all rents, services, and demands whatever," apparently inserted to emphasize the well-understood fact that the manor grants were strictly in the line of public policy, and were in no way intended to become a source of revenue to the government.

The importance of the manorial proprietorships in Westchester County, in their relations to its political and social character, and to its eventful history for a hundred years, cannot be overestimated. All the founders of the six manors were men of forceful traits, native ability, and wide influence. With a single exception,² they left their estates, entirely undiminished and unimpaired, either to children or to immediate kinsmen, who, in turn, by their personal characters and qualities, as well as by their marital alliance, solidified the already substantial foundations which had been laid, and greatly strengthened the social position and enlarged the spheres of their families. To enumerate the marriages contracted during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the male and female lines, by the Van Cortlandts, the Philipsses, the Morrisises, the Pells, and the descendants of Caleb Heathcote, would involve almost a complete recapitulation of the more conspicuous and wealthy New York families of the entire colonial period, besides many prominent families of other provinces.

To the Westchester manorial families belonged some of the most noted and influential Americans of their times—men of shining talents, fascinating manners, masterful energy, and splendid achievement; statesmen, orators, judges, and soldiers—who were among the principal popular leaders and civic officials of the province, and who won renown both in the public service and in the field during the Revolution. Alike to the patriot cause and the Tory faction these families contributed powerful and illustrious supporters. As the issues between the colonies and Great Britain became more closely drawn, and the inevitable struggle approached, the influences of the representative members of the

2. John Archer, of Fordham. In consequence of financial complications, his manor did not remain in his family. Yet the Archer Family continued to be a respectable and useful one in the county.

Westchester families were thrown partly on one side and partly on the other. The tenants in each case were controlled largely by the proprietor, and thus an acute division of sentiment and sympathies was occasioned which, in connection with the unique geographical position of Westchester County in its relations to the contending forces of the Revolution, caused it to be torn by constant broils and to be devastated by innumerable conflicts and depredations. Remembering that the old manorial families of Westchester County rested upon an original foundation of very recognizable aristocratic dignity, which was made possible only by monarchical institutions; that the pride of lineage had, at the time of the Revolution, been nourished for the larger part of a century; and that the disposition of attachment to the king naturally arising from these conditions had been much strengthened by continuous intermarriage with other families of high social pretension and political conservatism, it seems at this day remarkable, or at least a source of peculiar satisfaction, that their preferences and efforts were, on the whole, rather for the popular cause than against it.

Even in the formative period of the Revolution, before passions had been stirred by experience and example, and before actual emergency impelled men to put aside caution, it was distinctly apparent that the Tory party was the weaker, both numerically and in point of leadership; and at a very early period of the war, notwithstanding the loss of New York City to the American army and the retreat of Washington into New Jersey, Toryism became an unwholesome thing throughout much the larger part of Westchester County. The influence of the Tory landlords, even upon their own tenantry, was, indeed, a constantly diminishing factor, while that of the patriotic leaders steadily grew. This could not have been the case if the weight of sentiment among the principal families of the county had not been genuinely on the side of American freedom.

GEORGE WASHINGTON AS A REAL ESTATE AGENT

BY GRIFFITH MORRIS

IN the Baltimore *Journal* of one hundred and thirty-six years ago (1773) George Washington advertised for sale 20,000 acres of land on the Kanawha and Ohio rivers. The old paper containing this notice was found more than a century later between the lids of an old Welsh Bible, belonging to a citizen of Covington, Ky. How it got there and was preserved is hard to tell. In this advertisement Washington approaches the standard of any of his Western less illustrious successors, but it is doubtful if he comes up to the standard of veracity laid down in the "hatchet and cherry tree" affair.

In the light and experience of the one hundred and thirty-six years of development of the Kanawha and Meigs county hills, the facts do not seem to justify the father of his country in his flaming description of the fertility and beauty of his domain. Washington was early impressed with a great future for the West; whether the events of the coming revolution were already casting their shadows before them, may be inferred from the following lines of his advertisement:

"If the scheme for establishing a new government on the Ohio, in the manner talked of, should ever be effected, these lands would prove to be the most valuable, because of their contiguity to the seat of government which, more than probable, would be at the mouth of the Kanawha."

It is from the life of Colonel Crawford, the life-long friend and agent of Washington in his western land ventures, that we gather our information in this matter. Crawford, who afterward lost his life in the campaign against the Indians at Sandusky, was with Washington at Braddock's defeat; had left the Shenandoah, and settled on the Youghioghany as agent for Washington. He had selected lands for himself, his brothers, Samuel and John Augustine, and Lund Washington, a relative. Washington and Crawford were surveyors, and it is not improbable that the large

slices of land he got from the erratic old Lord Fairfax for surveying, first developed a spirit of land speculation. Crawford was his agent in the West. September 21st, 1769, he writes from Mt. Vernon:

"If you will be to the trouble of seeking out the land, I will take upon me the trouble of securing them, as there is a possibility of doing it. I will, moreover, be at all the cost, and charges of surveying and patenting the same. You shall have such a reasonable proportion of the whole as we may fix upon at our first meeting."

It is needless to say, the matter was promptly attended to. These lands were on the Youghioghany. The fees for surveying in those days were ample, and Crawford and Washington often got one-fourth of the land for their services, while the latter, doubtless, got many valuable slices from his old patron, Fairfax. It is not strange, therefore, that he became a large Virginia land owner.

About three years previous to this advertisement in the *Baltimore Journal*, Washington left Mt. Vernon on horseback to cross the Alleghany mountains and visit Crawford on the Youghioghany to look after his landed interest there, and to descend the Ohio on a prospecting tour. He and Crawford left the Youghioghany and came to Pittsburgh, a trading post of twenty log cabins. Here, in company with Mr. Harrison and others, they secured a large canoe and floated slowly down the Ohio, examining the land. At Mingo Bottom, now Steubenville, they found an Indian town of twenty-five log huts; this was afterwards the starting point of Crawford's fatal campaign against Sandusky.

They floated down as far as the mouth of the Great Kanawha. On their return, Washington wishing to examine the land in the great bend of the Ohio, in what is now Meigs county, he and Crawford walked across the neck, which they estimated at eight miles. Whether this land on the Ohio was secured or not is not told, and as there were then no United States, and the colonial claims of Virginia were rather indeterminate, the metes and bounds of his 20,000 acres are not very close.

The party pursued their way home still more slowly than they

came, for pushing this big canoe against the current was quite different from floating with it. At Mingo Bottom they were met by horses sent from Crawford's home to meet them. On their way home they met a canoe loaded with sheep going to Illinois. This was nearly fifty years before the waters of the Ohio were disturbed by a paddle wheel, and doubtless it was the first shipment of live stock from Pittsburgh to the vicinity of St. Louis.

Arriving at Crawford's home on the Youghioghany, they found the river very high and the canoe gone. Finally, finding a boat, they paddled over, swimming their horses. Resting a few days here, Washington returned over the mountains on horseback, and reaching Mount Vernon in nine weeks and one day from the time he left. The fact that Washington does not include his Youghioghany land in his Kanawha advertisement, may be accounted for by the conflicting colonial claims of Pennsylvania and Virginia. As many lost their homes in this cause, it is possible that Washington suffered in this way to some extent.

About two years later Washington, in company with Lord Dunmore had arranged to visit the west on a land-inspecting tour. He had written to Lord Dunmore asking when he would be ready to start, so that Crawford could be notified to be ready to accompany them, but the death of Miss Custis, June 19th, frustrated this plan. He still instructed Crawford to inspect the land about the mouth of the Sciota and secure it to him, but the mutterings of the Revolution were heard, and soon both these men were in the biggest real estate transaction the world ever saw. It was not 20,000 acres on the Kenawaha, but it was half a continent, and they got it.

This was about the end of the real estate matters with these men. They had been together at Braddock's defeat; they were at the heroic crossing of the Delaware on Christmas day, and at the victory of Trenton the next day, and Princeton the 3rd of January, 1777. Not much more is known of Washington's land scheme, and his agent and life-long friend, Colonel Crawford, lost his life in the Sandusky campaign against Indians.

RISE OF THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS

BY THE VISCOUNT DE FRONSAC

[Revised—with additions—from the original edition, especially for the American Historical Magazine.]

III

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONY AND GOVERNMENT—FOUNDING OF PLYMOUTH AND MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONIES

IT was the distinctive purpose of establishing an independent state that prompted the Massachusetts colonization. It was to set up a "commonweath without a king and a church without a bishop" as wrote the old chronicallists. But the development of nature will have course, in spite of men's minds to the contrary and their adverse enactments. As Momsen discovered of this law among the ancients, that even in democracy, "It has at its core a monarchical principle in which the idea of a periclean commonwealth floats ever before the minds of its best citizens."

Now the reason for the attempt to set up a community "without a king and without a bishop" is traced to the preceding religious controversy in England. The king was included with the bishop, solely because the king for the time became a religious partizan and countenanced the bigotry of church ordinances. The ruler of a state must be superior to creeds and churches.

It was in 1604 when England began to turn bigot. The bishop of London in that year procured the ratification of a "Book of Canons" of 141 articles, non-conformation to which was punishable with outlawry, excommunication and imprisonment.

At this time, Holland was more liberal than England; so a congregation of people from Gainsborough in Lincolnshire, and Scrooby in Nottinghamshire, under the leadership of the

Reverend Richard Clifton, John Robinson and William Brewster, after many risks and persecutions, succeeded in escaping to Leyden, in Holland, in the year 1608. Here it may be added that the rigors of the doctrine of these "puritan" people were if anything severer than the papal and semi-papal from which they fled; for those who did not believe were no less heretics than they themselves were to the Church of Rome.

The Puritans who escaped from the persecution of the Church of England differed only in the elective principle of the office of the church which they adopted. They proscribed the grand music of the masters and reprobated the aesthetic ornamentation and development of life as superfluous. They rejected symbolism as a specie of idolatry. They proscribed in witchcraft and burned witches with the same fury and abhorrence as the Catholics burned heretics. They gave the individual the privilege of self-representation before God and repudiated the demands of the confessional. During their residence in Holland, they enjoyed the esteem of the Dutch magistrates by their orderly conduct and attention to industry, many among them laboring as spinners and craftsmen. Yet although enjoying "complete freedom of conscience" in Holland, they reverted often to their original plan of "founding a state without a king, and a church without a bishop." Thus urged by the stimulus of this ambition, they resolved to go to America. Learning of their intent, the Dutch government offered them lands in their American possessions, but they preferred independence.

Now as all the land in America was holden by European powers, they were obliged to obtain a charter for colonization from some one of them. They chose England, because England was their home, the provisions of an English charter would be as liberal as any and they were better acquainted with English institutions and law than with those of other states. By the provisions of this charter, which they obtained, they were obliged to take oath of allegiance to the sovereign, making the king, at least in name, the chief authority of their proposed state.

In the cabin of their little ship *Mayflower*, they outlined the measure of their own government, thus:—

"November 11th, 1620, this day before we come to harbor

. . . it was thought good that there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body and submit to such government and governors as we shall by common consent agree to choose."¹

In 1627, Isaac de Rasiere, a prominent officer and merchant of New Netherland (New York) wrote a description of the condition in New England:—

"The governor has his council, which is chosen every year by election by the entire community, or by prolongation of term. In the inheritance they place all the children in one degree, only the eldest son has an acknowledgement for his seniority."

Soon after the news of their establishment was arrived in England, there came out a great multitude to keep company with their primitive state, among whom were some liberal and others more conventional. This new company obtained an extensive grant of land from the Crown, which grant was denominated "Massachusetts Bay." This was obtained by Sir John Rowell, kt., Sir John Young, kt., Thomas Southcote, John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simon Whitcomb, gentlemen; but there were with them a great many preachers, and the religious, or church, idea was dominant. May 18th, 1631, the General Court of Boston declared:—

"To the end the body of the commons be preserved of honest and good men, ordered and agreed, that, for the time to come no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as be members of some of the churches within the same."²

That is, no member of the Church of England, no Catholic, no Quaker, no free-thinker could be a citizen of the new commonwealth. Moreover, a little later, such people when found coming to the colony, were banished with penalties against their returning. This induced a struggle of the non-bigoted.

The beginning of the fling of defiance against this theological tyranny was made by men of rank, birth and education. These demanded the magistracy. There was a provision that "the

(1) History of New England, by J. G. Palfrey, Vol. I, p. 227.

(2) History of New England, by J. G. Palfrey, Vol.

magistrates should be men of quality." After this there were three classes, mutually opposed:—1, the magistrates; 2, the clergy; 3, the citizen-electors. The magistrates, originally appointed in England, were confined thenceforward to men of rank in the colony.

In 1637, by desire of this genealogical element of rank, since property was evenly divided among the children and was not a factor in the reckoning, it was decided:—

"That the General Court be holden in May next (1637) for the election of magistrates, and so from time to time as occasion shall require, shall elect a certain number of magistrates for the term of their lives, as a standing council, not to be removed but on due conviction of crime," etc.

The governor was president of this council. Winthrop, Endicott and Dudley were the first life-counsellors. About this time others were admitted to vote for the choice of military officers who were not of the congregational church, provided they were in some of the colonial military organizations. Thus early a distinction began to grow up among military men, proclaiming them to be of a different mind from those of the civil community. Before this, in 1634, under the governorship of John Endicott, who was thus false to his oath of allegiance, the red cross was cut out of the white flag of England in the colony and the pine tree was substituted as the ensign of New England. A short time after this, a ship of the king sailed into port. There was no royal ensign at the fort to salute. A sailor having declared the inhabitants to be rebels and traitors was imprisoned by order of the governor. The captain of the ship demanded an English flag to salute. Not one could be found in the colony. The captain agreed to loan one for temporary use at the fort. The governor's council permitted it, without taking formal action to restore the colors, after the loan had been returned—so far had they embarked with their idea of an independent state.

No sooner was the colony in a prosperous condition than colonists, some Presbyterian, some Huguenot, the former from the British Isles, the latter from France and Holland, came, attracted by this condition. With them came gradually the infiltration of loftier standards and nobler thoughts, borne from the

aristocratic principality of La Rochelle that had withstood the assaults of the Catholic power in France and had made a treaty with the Protestant monarchy of England under Queen Elizabeth; that had already plotted with the great Coligny to erect the structure of a Roman commonwealth on the Carolinian shore, after the pattern of the palatine burghs of the south of Europe.

Now this idea of a Roman commonwealth, or empire, in America, borne across the sea from the south of France, legitimated in continuing the empire in America first instituted by Charles V. in the 16th century, although blotted out by Catholic intrigue, had much to do in shaping after-politics in America.

The palatine burghs of the Roman Empire in France had been Marseilles, Narbonne, Toulouse and Bessieres. Those regions of France in which they were most dominant were Aquitaine and Provence. It was in the palatine burghs of these provinces that freedom of thought ventured first in Europe, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to stand erect in the glorious magnificence of its genius. In the crucible of its liberality it united the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, which the Arabian doctors brought across the Pyrenees from the Moorish kingdoms of Granada and Cordova, then in effulgent growth in the Spanish Peninsula. With them was carried the precepts of Mahomet to be united with those of Christ, producing a species of deism whose liberality was above all creeds.

This renaissance in the South of France was the brightest and most splendid of Europe. From the warm glow of its light and life, came a flash that fell as a menace on the dark and gloomy church of the popes. The sound of its joys of earth's blessing awakened the wrath of the Catholic hierarchy that was striving to repress the same to its own behests. The sight of the prosperity of the teeming cities of Narbonne, Bessieres and Toulouse, rich with the products of the most intelligent and best trained industry of Europe, aroused the cupidity and envy of the Catholic Christians and gave a stimulus to the pope to pronounce an anathema against this and to preach that Albigensian crusade which brought the savage allies of the papacy from every country in Europe in a flood of hatred, lust and exter-

mination. That civilization was swept away. The king of Aragon, who was of this proscription, was slain in battle, helping bravely his friends of France. The scattered remnants fled into the Pyrennian mountains.

This was the origin and the end for a time, of freedom of thought in Europe—modeled after that which had existed in the old empire of the Romans, when the diligence of philosophers conspired to confound superstition by bringing the various gods of the world together in one temple. With a liberty like this, there can be no equality. As Lord Rosebery, of the time of Beaconsfield, said before the Conservative Club: "Liberty and equality are mutually exclusive." There must be room for genius, for those who are great, else there is no liberty for them who are the gems of the human race. The rest of the world profits by it, for by the few are made all the advancements which benefit the race and to the few is due something beyond the mockery of thanks—that is, the reins of power and the honor of Dominion.

This recognized truth, brought to the cities of the Roman empire the conference of rank for merit, which should not be confounded with the feudal tenure of the middle ages, when the holding of a lordship was reserved for nobility of race alone. Nobility, with the Romans, went genealogically within the "*gnome*, name, "*gens*", race, "*pater*," and "*patricius*," father. In the degenerate application in some countries of Europe, nobility went often, but not always, with the possession of the fief, "No land, no noble." The qualities originally of race then inherred in the tenure. In the organization of each city of the Roman empire, the senate contained the patricians, or chiefs of the nobility; the second chamber, the representatives of the trades. The duties of the senate pertained to diplomacy and military affairs; of the second chamber, to decide disputes between trades-associations; of both, to regulate taxation and expenditure. Thus all classes were represented in each city, or state, of the Roman empire.

It was the coming of people with memories of these things into the American colonies that worked a ferment and reaction against the puritan bigotry of the primitive Yankees. There-

from, in the North, the clergy, finding a growing difference of opinion, religious and political, proceeded to stir up the most ignorant, the more numerous and intolerant of their congregations to the sending of deputies to the general court to make stringent religious laws. Thus originated the celebrated "blue laws" of New England. "Forbidden to kiss wife and child on the Sabbath" was not the least of their ridiculous and contemptible ordinances. While in power, they pressed heavily on the necks of the people and imposed a tyranny of greater bigotry and oppression than even that of the Inquisition of Rome. This body, the clergy, in every state, in every clime and of every creed, has been the greatest hindrance to the friendly intercourse of peoples of different faiths.

They formulated against the armorials and ranks of the gentry, against the science and art of the professions, against the estates of the proprietors—unless goodly portions were devoted to their own maintenance. They are the direct cause for the sterility of artistic and chivalrous impulses in New England life, by their influence in the body politic; for the dearth of romantic elements in the communities over which they were the presiding ogres. At that time, just previous to 1639, one of them named Wheelwright received a reprimand from the magistrates and was adjudged guilty of sedition by the excessive violence of his preaching.

Nov. 5th, 1639, "Divers gentlemen and others, ont of their care for the public weal and safety, and for the advancement of the military art and exercise of arms, desired license of the court to join themselves in one company and to have liberty to exercise themselves at such times and places as their occasions would permit."³

It was only in such military formations that safety could be had against the wrath of the clergy. Thus was founded the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts. But at the time of its formation in 1638, the civil council, under influence of the clergy, prophesied its "ungodly" influence—that is the protection of individuals joining it against their wrath—

(3) History of New England, by J. G. Palfrey, Vol. I, p. 550.

“considering from the example of the Pretorian Band among the Romans, and the Templars in Europe, how dangerous it might be to erect a standing authority of military men, which might easily, in time, overthrow the civil power.”

Thus the military idea began to show itself as a means of liberating people of the better classes from the theological and leveling democracy. During this time, the spirit of an independent state was developing. In 1642, the four New England colonies assumed some of the prerogatives of sovereignty, with the king as the knot of their union, in a “firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence.” Massachusetts went further yet and established a mint in 1652 and proceeded to coin her own money. However, this was during the protectorate of Cromwell over England and her dependencies. Cromwell favored Massachusetts and promoted the military spirit in the colony. He had relied on the same weapon in England to relieve himself from the narrowness and bigotry of the theological democracy in England. With the hypocrisy usual to members of that body, they had installed themselves as the supreme power of the English parliament and were proceeding to use the government for their own purposes and to shape its destinies to conform to their belief, when Cromwell appeared before them suddenly on the day of their most iniquitous proceedings. He accused them of corruption, hypocrisy and double-dealing and caused his soldiers to drive them from the seat of authority. “There is nothing in their minds but overturn, overturn,” said he.

Now the people in power in New England were mostly of the stamp of Praise God Bairbones parliament in England, and the religious persecution went on unrestricted. Later, after Cromwell's government has passed away and Charles II. in 1660 had ascended the throne, the budget of complaints against the theological democracy of Massachusetts for persecution, bloodshed, torture, banishment and loss of property and life was very large. The king sent commissioners to the colony in 1666 to report on these abuses of power. Commissioner Randolph declared that the better portion of the people had been driven away and that the public offices had fallen in the hands of the

most virulent. Among others reported to the king as an abuse was the exercise of the sovereign prerogative of coining money; for although the king had been proclaimed in the colony in 1661, the pine-tree shilling was coined the very next year without any other legend than that of the sovereignty of the colony. But the king was mollified considerably when Governor John Leverett, who had been summoned to England to answer for the colony, remarked that the figure on the coin was that of the Royal oak, which had sheltered his majesty after the Battle of Worcester—a witty reply which gained for the Massachusetts governor the honor of knighthood.

While making the greatest professions of loyalty and agreeing that all the requirements of their charter had been fulfilled, the investigation showed that Puritan loyalty was a lie and that they had not fulfilled one of the requirements which they had promised to fulfil. The king found it necessary therefore that a new charter be given so as to bring the officers in direct contact with his majesty's government, and that the governors be sent from England, so that they should not belong to any cabal in the colony. The Puritans had not proved themselves to be a trustworthy people. Their word could not be relied on.

As an example of the prosecution of the leveling Puritan democracy of New England whose unethical and republican ideas were being put constantly in force against all comers who were different from them, the history of the early king's chapel of Boston is an enlightenment to those who are capable of profiting by a lesson. Besides, King's Chapel, although having passed into the hands of the enemy, is the cradle of the United Empire Loyalists from Boston and vicinity.

William Vassell had come over in 1630. He was so disgusted with Winthrop and others in authority who were ignoring their pledges to the crown, that he returned to England, but came back again to the colony determined to make a stand for freedom of conscience and liberty of the individual. He commenced by sending in the following "Remonstrance and Humble Petition" to the general court. This was signed by five others, among them being Samuel Maverick and Robert Child.

"That they could not discern in this colony a settled form of

government according to the laws of England, that many thousands in these plantations of the English nation were debarred all civil employments . . . and that numerous members of the Church of England . . . were detained from the seats of the covenant of free grace."

They demanded relief from these disabilities and threatened if not relieved to appeal to the high court of England. The general court of Massachusetts, after a great delay, rejected their petition with coarse jocoseness. "And these are the champions," said the court, "who must represent the body of non-freemen. If this be their head sure they have an unsavory head, not to be seasoned by much salt." The petitioners were fined and their papers seized.

When King Charles II. had come to the throne, the absolute rulership of this Puritan hypocrisy and chicanery was brought to an end. Bradstreet and Norton, June 28, 1662, received a letter from the king. It declared, that:

"Since the principal end of that charter was, and is, the freedom and liberty of conscience, we do hereby charge and require you that freedom and liberty be duly admitted and allowed."

The general court demurred, pursed up its lips and attempted to play hide and seek with the meaning of words, to hood-wink, in fact, to come a "Yankee trick" over the commissioners sent from England. But Commissioner Randolph, an old cavalier and royalist, did not fail to see through this chicanery. He wrote back to the king, that by the means employed by the leaders of the puritan democracy, the best people had been driven out of the colony or into retirement and that menials and servants with pretentious mannerisms were in the high places. So the king thought he would abridge it all.

The English king is head of the Anglican Church, and his own church could not exist in the colony under a government elected by the Puritans, although they had promised to respect the king's authority, the Church of England and the laws of the realm. In order that the king's chapel could be built, then, it was necessary to give Massachusetts a royal charter, in which

the power of appointing the chief officers should reside in the crown. On Feb. 22, this charter was made. May 15, 1686, there entered Boston harbor the *Rose*, frigate, bearing a commission from the king to Joseph Dudley to act in the royal name as president of Massachusetts, Maine, Nova Scotia and the lands between. And with her came the Reverend Robert Radcliffe, first minister of the king's chapel.

In October, 1688, the foundation of King's Chapel was laid on Tremont Street, in Boston, on the corner of what is now School Street. About that church gathered those far-seeing and high-minded royalists in the colony who beheld in the king's authority the only barrier against the narrow Puritan democracy, that, when in power with brute force, and, when not in power, with cunning and chicanery, sought to accomplish its purpose. As Voltaire says, it is "better to be under the paw of the lion than be knawed by a million rats."

The building of his majesty's chapel brought the royal charter to supercede the original permit of government, which had left the power in the hands of the majority to persecute those who did not believe as they. Even the land on which the chapel stands the king's governor was obliged to appropriate as the local authorities refused to sell, and the records show that he paid the original owners four-fold the value of the land.

But, the time of the Puritan triumph was coming, again, and in it they were to show "what manner of men they were." When the House of Stuart that had created the church and charter ceased to reign in England in the person of King James II., who was succeeded by William of Orange, whom the treachery and Revolution of 1688 put on the throne, the Puritan mob in Boston, according to a pamphlet printed in London in 1690, entitled "New England's Faction Discovered," proceeded to their work. They seized the governor and principal members of the king's chapel and put them in prison.

"The church, itself, had great difficulty to withstand their fury, receiving the marks of their indignation and scorn by having the windows broken and the doors and walls daubed and defiled with dung and other filth in the rudest and basest manner imaginable, and the minister for his safety was forced to leave the country and go to England."

But the revolution in England, of 1688, did not go so far as the Puritan democracy of Massachusetts had hoped. Sullenly but cringingly they retraced their steps when King William of Orange showed that liberality which intelligent men hope ever to find in a king. He continued the royal favor to King's Chapel and presented the service with new silver.

"It was the only building in New England where the forms of the court church might be witnessed. The prayers and anthems which sounded forth in the cathedrals of the mother-country were here no longer dumb. The equipages and uniforms which made gay the little court of Boston brightened its portals. Within, the escutcheons of the royal governors hung against the pillars. At Christmas time it was the only church that was wreathed in green, or celebrated the nativity of Christ with gladness and song of rejoicing,—for Christmas had been forbidden to be celebrated among the Puritans, because they said it was popish and idolatrous,"⁴

Here on the walls of the chapel were emblazoned in all the pomp of heraldry the royal arms, the arms of the royal governors, Dudley, Shute, Burnet, Belcher, Shirley and Andros, and those of Colonel Nicholson and Captain Hamilton. And what rays of chivalry had penetrated the thick and somber atmosphere of Puritan bigotry and intolerance were focused into a brighter light in the immediate circle of those royalists who gathered within its walls.

Sir William Shirley had done most to prop the royal cause in the colony, and, as a means to that end, had favored the king's chapel with all his influence. In 1741, just before he was appointed governor, Lieutenant-Governor Dunbar wrote, from New Hampshire to the Board of Trade:

"New England might be made a very useful colony . . . were the Church of England encouraged, it would bring them (the people) to better principles than they are now of, being generally republicans."

Another cause of trouble to the Puritan republicans was the culture of art and music, which the liberties of the new char-

(4) History of King's Chapel, Vol. I.

ter allowed to be encouraged with the building of King's Chapel. One very beautiful picture was Benjamin West's Last Supper, which was one of the adornments of the chapel's interior. At the time of the American Revolution, when the hand of lawless violence was unrestrained against everything that had provoked republican bigotry and hate, Mr. Davis, who had the guardianship of the picture, committed it to the protection of the republican leader, John Hancock, which protectorate seems to have terminated in proprietorship, without compensation to the original owners.

Now it must not be thought that all the royalists in New England were Church of England men, or, that all in Boston were members of King's Chapel. Many of the Presbyterians who came to New Hampshire, New York and Virginia, especially those from Ireland, among whose members were descendants of the Huguenots, who had followed the banner of the Marquis de Rouvigni into England and Ireland in 1688-90, were distinctly royalists, although not ardent for the domination of England. Guizot notices the royalism of the Presbyterians in his "Vie de Charles I." In Britain, after the Church of England and the monarchy had been overthrown by Cromwell and the Puritans, it was the Presbyterians who pronounced against republicanism and took up arms for the king, and finally, with General Monck at their head, proclaimed Charles II. as king and entered London with their armed hosts to restore the monarchy. But among the royalists of King's Chapel alone at this time, immediately preceding the republican revolution of 1776, were Peter Faneuil, who gave Faneuil Hall to the city, Dr. Gardiner, who supplied the colonial troops with medicine free of charge, and Isaac Royall who founded the first law professorship at Harvard University. Whatever was great and excellent and unselfish belonged to them. They were, in truth, as Leckey, the historian, says, "The gentry of the colonies." The entire membership of King's Chapel were royalists to the core, loyal to the head of the colony, which head was the king, the emperor of all the provinces.

A month after the royal authority had left Boston, in 1776, with the British troops and the members of King's Chapel, the

chapel was reopened by the enemy, by the Puritan congregational republicans, whose sires had opposed the erection of the church, and had "besmeared its walls with dung" during the disturbance of 1688. They came from the Old South meeting-house, and occupied the king's property without warrant; for the king's property passed to the commonwealth by act of the treaty of 1783, as the property of absentee royalists had passed before by the confiscation acts of 1778-9. In consequence of persecutions like the above, the democracy of Massachusetts Bay was deprived of its usurpation by order of King Charles II.

The colony of Plymouth was united to that of Massachusetts Bay, under a royal charter from King Charles II., Feb. 22, 1669, with the following provisions:

I. "That all householders, inhabiting in the colony, take the oath of allegiance, etc."

II. "That all men of competent estate; that is men who own property enough to enable them to have a right to vote, and civil conversation, though of different judgments, may be admitted to be freemen, and have liberty to choose and be chosen as officers both civil and military."

III. "That all men and women of orthodox opinion, competent knowledge and civil lives (not scandalous) be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and their children to baptism, if they desire it."

IV. "That all laws and expressions of law derogatory to His Majesty, if any such have been made in these troublous times, be repealed, altered, and taken off from the file."

The Plymouth colony had fulfilled all these provisions. The Massachusetts colony had violated every one. Yet the governor and chief men of the colony testified that all had been carried out. In the first instance the oath of allegiance was not administered in Massachusetts at this time or before. In the second instance only those were allowed to vote who belonged to the Congregational church of the colony, and all others were persecuted. In the third instance no one but of the Congregational church was permitted to receive the sacraments or baptism. Laws were made forbidding any other form of worship. It was an act of treason to appeal from the laws of the colony to the crown that had given the colony its charter. This was

also a violation of the fourth requirement, because such laws were contrary to the charter from the crown on which the government of the colony existed. Thus from the very beginning, the religious democracy of Massachusetts manifested a desire to be as far away from royal government as possible.

Roger Williams, desirous of religious and political liberty, fled away from the tyranny of the Massachusetts democracy and founded the Providence Plantation in 1636, now known as Rhode Island. The Connecticut colony was established about the same time at Hartford and New Haven.

Captain John Mason obtained a grant of land between the colony of Massachusetts and the Province of Maine, which latter was conferred on Sir Ferdinand Gorges. Mason's land was known as New Hampshire and was a royal colony. Maine was under the proprietorship of Gorges, until 1690, when it was ceded to Massachusetts.

Massachusetts then may be seen to have been not only the leading colony of the north, but the parent of three others. Indeed, her population flowed over into them all. Plymouth and the Province of Maine were incorporated with Massachusetts in 1690. Before this the governors had been elected by the people, after 1690 they were appointed by the crown, together with the Lieutenant-Governor and Secretary of the Province and the councillors. The governor, under the last charter, appointed also, the judges, sheriffs, marshals, provosts and military officers. The people of the colony elected their deputies to the general court as formerly, and any man was qualified to vote and serve in any office, if elected or appointed, if he possessed land in the province to the value of 40 shillings per annum or to the worth of £50 sterling. It was impossible after 1690 for the Puritan malignants to burn witches, persecute Quakers, drive off Episcopalians and disfranchise those who differed from them in opinions political and religious, because the chief magistrate was now appointed by the crown.

(To be Continued.)

INDIAN LEGENDS OF BELLE ISLE AND BOIS BLANC

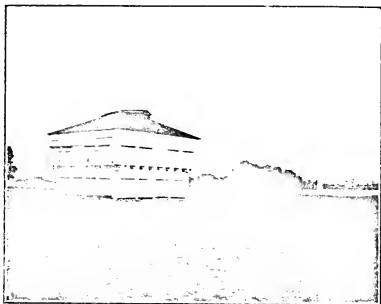
BY ELIZABETH L. STOCKING

IN the Detroit river, opposite the eastern part of the city of Detroit, and connected with it by a bridge, lies the beautiful island park of Belle Isle. It is the people's play-ground, free to their use for picnics, boating and bathing. All the year round they flock there; in winter for skating and sleighing, and as the weather grows pleasant, from early morning until late evening, family parties bearing huge picnic-baskets, or youths and maidens with cameras and boat-cushions form a constant procession across the bridge, or pour over the gang-planks of the ferry-boats. There is room for all, and each may find a suitable haunt.

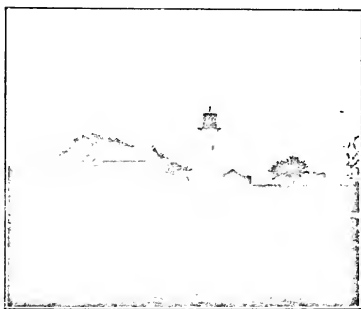
A system of canals through the island, miles long, and spanned by charming little bridges, forms an ideal waterway for canoeists. There are smooth roads for the automobiles and pleasant groves for the picknickers, while on the upper part of the island, still stand the primeval forests almost untouched, dense with undergrowth, and in the spring, carpeted with innumerable wild-flowers.

As, on a summer-day, we watch the hundreds of brightly bedecked canoes which are paddled through the canals and along the shore of Belle Isle by laughing, happy, modern young people, our fancy, perhaps, goes back two hundred years to another vision of canoes bearing a duskier burden,—Indians with bright feathers and stern painted faces, seeking the shore of Belle Isle to avenge their outraged Manitou.

So runs the legend: Many, many years ago, two French priests accompanied by seven other men and guided by a chart of the Great Lakes drawn on a sheet of bark with a piece of charcoal by an Indian, landed on the shore of the Detroit river where the great city now stands. They found there only beautiful virgin forest, bright with gorgeous birds and flowers and teeming with



THE OLD BLOCK HOUSE



THE LIGHT HOUSE

herds of deer and bison. As they wandered through the dense woods, suddenly they came upon an open clearing in the center of which rose a grassy mound bearing on its summit a rude, vermilion-painted idol before which had been placed, in profusion, offerings of tobacco, food, and skins of animals.

Many tales had reached the missionaries of the Indians' Great Manitou who governed the winds and whose mighty voice was heard when storms raged over the Great Lakes, and they knew that no Indian would venture on the bosom of these waters for a journey of any length, without an offering to appease this deity. Now, they felt, had been given to them the chance to make their first attack on such idolatry. Uniting all the strength of their party, they hurled the idol from its eminence, breaking it into a thousand pieces. In its place on the mound, they triumphantly erected a cross, placing beneath it the arms of France, and an inscription stating that they had taken possession of the land in the name of the King.

Seizing the largest fragment of the idol which remained, and hauling it to the shore, they lashed two canoes together and fastening to them the great piece of stone, towed it to the deepest part of the river, where they sunk it beneath the waters, so that the Manitou could never more be reconstructed and worshipped by the Indians.

After the priests were far away on their journey, a band of Indians coming with gifts for their Manitou, found to their astonishment and grief, only its shattered remains. Who would protect them now from the winds and the waves? Calling upon the name of their God, they sorrowfully gathered up the fragments of stone and placing them in their canoes, were guided by them to the spirit of the offended Manitou which had taken refuge under the dark, overhanging trees on the shore of Belle Isle. "Take all the fragments of stone," commanded the Manitou, "and scatter them along the shores of this island."

The Indians obeyed, when behold! each stone became a rattlesnake to guard the abode of the god from the intrusion of the hated white man. Even now, gay parties of pleasure-seekers floating on the waters of the river near Belle Isle on moonlight nights, sometimes arouse the angry spirits of the Manitou which

slumbers there, and he vindictively throws back a mocking echo of their voices.

All Detroiters know that our island park was once called "Rattlesnake Island," on account of the number of these reptiles which infested it. Now, as there is one creature which is not afraid of a rattlesnake and can destroy it, and that is a hog, a drove of these animals was let loose on the island, and the rattlesnakes being exterminated by them, the island naturally took the name of the victors,—Hog Island.

After having ascended from the Reptilian Age to the Age of Four-footed Beasts, the island finally reached the culmination of its upward development when it was stamped with the name of a beautiful woman, Miss Belle Cass, daughter of Gen. Lewis Cass. Since then it has been known and loved by the people of Detroit as "Belle Isle."

The island of Bois Blanc lies at the mouth of the Detroit river. Being only an hour's steam-boat ride from Detroit, it is a favorite resort for excursions from the city. "Bois Blanc" means "white wood," the island being so called from a superb forest of white-wood trees which crowned it long ago. The variety of ways in which the name of this island is pronounced, has become a standing joke among Detroit people. Some folks call it, frankly and phonetically, "Boys Blank." To others, with some pretense of a knowledge of the French language, it is "Boy Blong," but to the majority of happy excursionists who gather there, it is simply "Bob'-Low."

On the southern end of the island is a light-house, whose bright, blinking eye nightly directs the big freighters on Lake Erie to the entrance of the Detroit river. Not far from the light-house stands an old block-house telling of the times when Indians and whites struggled together for supremacy. On this island, Tecumseh and his braves, in 1813, awaited the issue of the Battle of Lake Erie; here, in 1722, a Huron mission flourished, and in 1747 the Indians gathered on Bois Blanc to plan a massacre of the French at Fort Ponchartrain in Detroit.

Many years ago, at a time when the Hurons were wont to erect their wigwams on the island of Bois Blanc, there lived a beautiful maiden,—White Fawn, daughter of a great Huron chief, but

whose mother had belonged to the "pale-face." Her father and mother both being dead, she lived with her father's tribe, which regarded her with much pride, and her admirers were "as numerous as the leaves of the forest." They wooed her according to the peculiar mode of Indian courtship, by whittling tiny sticks and throwing them at her. If she picked them up, favor was shown to the suit, but if she passed them unheeding, the Indian lover sadly gathered and buried them in token that his unrequited affection must be buried too. Among them all, there was only one, Kenen, a noted young Indian warrior whose love-tokens caused the maiden shyly to hesitate, showing that she needed more time to decide.

One day, Kenen brought from the forest a white hunter whom he had accidentally wounded and left him with White Fawn, that she might nurse him back to health. The girl, anxious to please her lover, devoted her time to the injured white man, but alas, as she cared for him, the traditions of her mother's race spoke to her heart, the voice of her warrior lost its power, and she loved the white man. "The words of the pale-face became stars and the heart of the maiden the lake whereon they rested, and as he looked down he saw no other light reflected there."

Kenen, noticing the change in his sweetheart, bitterly reproached, and charged her with loving the pale-face, but she only bowed her head in silence. Then, for a moment, in the Indian's uplifted hand, gleamed a knife above the maiden's breast; in another second, however, it was hurled far out into the waters.

"The arm of Kenen is stronger than his voice, and his anger like the mighty tempest that sweeps over the forest, but he is not strong enough to strike the heart of the White Fawn," he declared.

Shortly afterward the Hurons left Bois Blanc for their winter hunting-grounds, and later, in a fight with the Iroquois, the white hunter was captured and carried a prisoner to the island, where he had passed so many happy hours with White Fawn. He was bound to a tree, and the Indians had gathered in a remorseless circle about him to torture and kill him, when, into their midst, strode a tall young warrior.

"Have the Iroquois heard the name of Kenen?" he demanded.

A murmur of astonishment ran through the band of Indians.

"There is no greater in the Huron nation," replied their chief.

The warrior stood before them, his eyes flashing, his head raised haughtily.

"Let the pale-face go," he commanded. "Kenen will die in his place."

The Indians, hiding their surprise and exultation under their usual mask of stolidity, cut the cords which bound the white man, and Kenen whispered in his ear.

"There is sorrow in the heart of the White Fawn and the eyes of Kenen cannot look upon it. Go to her."

All had taken place so quickly that before the white man scarcely realized what was done, or had a chance to make remonstrance, he had been led to the shore, placed in a canoe, and strong Indian arms were paddling him towards the shore. That night the soul of Kenen on its journey to the "Happy Hunting Grounds," lingered for a time above the wigwam of the White Fawn in the camp of the Hurons ere it was wafted upward to the reward of the true and the brave.

THE FOUNDER OF A FAMOUS PENNSYLVANIA FAMILY

THE O'Hara Family, of Ireland, from which the O'Haras of western Pennsylvania are descended, is of old and distinguished lineage, tracing to the ancient Celtic kings of Ulster. Teige Buihde O'Hara, the last Lord of Leyney, was killed by an O'Connor. His son was Teige Oge O'Hara, who left two sons, John and Cormac; the elder son forfeited his estate under the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland. Charles O'Hara, son of Cormac O'Hara, was the father of Sir Charles O'Hara, Baron Tyrawley, whose son, James O'Hara, was the second Lord Tyrawley. Felix O'Hara, a nephew of Sir Charles O'Hara, was a major in Dillon's Regiment of the Irish Brigade, in the service of France and his son, John O'Hara, born in France, was also a major in the same regiment. General James O'Hara, the revolutionary patriot of Pennsylvania, was a son of Major John D. O'Hara.

General James O'Hara was the first Napoleon of industry in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. There he was the pioneer of the glass industry, a shipbuilder and merchant, founder of the Schenley and Denny estates and the first quartermaster-general of the United States army.

General O'Hara was born in Ireland about 1751, received a good education in France, and was commissioned in the celebrated Cold Stream Guards. Coming to America in 1772, and landing in Philadelphia, he entered the service of a firm in that city as Indian trader, an occupation which took him to western Virginia. Afterwards, from December, 1773, until March, 1774, he was employed by Devereux Smith and Ephraim Douglas, of Pittsburgh, in the same capacity. In 1774 he was appointed government agent among the Indians, and so continued until the outbreak of the War of the Revolution. While thus employed, he made many friends among the Indians, acquired a knowledge of the wily Indian character and learned many of

their dialects, all which, added to his fluency in French, was of great value to him in after years. His many hair-breadth escapes from Indians and other dangers are more thrilling in their telling. Upon one occasion, having been sent to the upper Moravian town on the Muskingum river, he was apprised by a friendly Indian runner that a party of hostiles were on their way to capture or kill him. Heckvelder, the celebrated Moravian missionary, immediately procured for him a conductor, and with this Indian for a guide he set out for Fort Pitt. They were successful in throwing the hostile Indians off the trail and reached Fort Pitt in safety. This Indian, with his father, mother, and entire family, was massacred by the whites at Gnadenhutton a few years afterwards.

At the breaking out of the Revolution, James O'Hara enlisted in the Virginia regiment as a private, but was almost immediately promoted to a captaincy, and raised and equipped his own company. He was stationed at Fort Kanawha, to hold the Indians in check and prevent them from aiding the British forces and was with the famous expedition of General George Rogers Clarke against Vincennes and other border towns, in pursuit of the Indians. The hardships of the march were severe, but the success of the expedition insured the safety of the western frontier from the savage incursions of the Indians. After the completion of that campaign, O'Hara's company was so reduced (numbering only twenty-nine men) that it was annexed to the Ninth Virginia regiment, and Captain O'Hara, being relieved, was sent to Pittsburgh with dispatches.

In 1780, Captain O'Hara was appointed commissary of the general hospital in Carlisle, Pa. In 1781 he was made assistant quartermaster-general and attached to General Greene's command during the campaign against Cornwallis in the Carolinas. From a brief diary kept by him at that time, it appears that he was present at Cowpens, Guilford Court House, and Eutaw Springs. Little is known of his participation in Greene's campaign in the south, except that he was with "Mad Anthony" Wayne's army and, as quartermaster, provided for the troops.

At the close of the war, Captain O'Hara returned with General Wayne to Philadelphia, where he married Miss Mary Car-

son, daughter of William Carson of that city. From there he took his newly wedded wife to Pittsburgh, over the mountains in a wagon, the only means of transportation except on foot or horseback. His residence then consisted of a log house, but in it were all the comforts and many luxuries of the age, including carpets, then almost unknown in the western country.

After the close of the War of the Revolution, Captain O'Hara took the contract to furnish supplies to General Harmar's army during the campaign against the western Indians, and was appointed to act as Quartermaster and Paymaster. The successive defeats of Harmar and St. Clair had filled the frontier colonists with alarm.

In 1789, Captain O'Hara, as presidential elector, cast his vote for General George Washington to be the first president of the United States. In 1792 he was commissioned quartermaster-general of the United States Army and served as such until 1796. In that capacity he accompanied General Wayne, in 1794, in the campaign which brought the Indians to terms.

All the duties pertaining to these offices were performed with ability and fidelity. His tours of inspection and supervision led him not only through western Pennsylvania, Virginia and Ohio, but to New York and Michigan, and through Illinois to Kentucky and Tennessee. These journeys were mainly made on horseback by a trail or bridle path through an otherwise trackless wilderness, or, if by water, in a skiff or canoe, or, at best, a barge; but, whether by land or water, encountering dangers from savage Indians and savage beasts.

After his services in the Revolution and in the wars with the Indians which followed, General O'Hara returned to Pittsburgh and devoted his energies to mercantile and industrial pursuits. He was the pioneer in all the industries which have made Pittsburgh great. He established a glass works in 1795. The difficulties he surmounted can scarcely be realized in this day; the pots were made in Pittsburgh, but the clay for making them was brought from Germany and Philadelphia, being transported from the latter place across the mountains on the backs of pack horses or mules. The expense was enormous, but at last heroic endeavor was rewarded and the first bottle of green

glass was turned out at a cost of thirty thousand dollars—quite a little fortune in those days.

A project of more imposing and daring proportions, so far as transportation was concerned, was General O'Hara's original scheme to bring salt from New York State to Fort Pitt. During the period when he was supplying the northwestern army he found that salt from the Onondaga works could be furnished more cheaply than salt brought from Baltimore. But the great difficulty lay in transporting it, as there were no good roads, no vessels on the lakes, and no efficient means of water carriage down the Allegheny River. All these had to be provided. General O'Hara, however, quailed at nothing. He created the entire line of transportation, building vessels on Lake Erie, buying wagons and securing boats for the river carriage. The road to French Creek from Erie was improved also. Flour and provisions, packed in barrels suitable for salt, were sent from Pittsburgh, General O'Hara reserving the barrels in his contract. The undertaking was a complete success. The salt was set down in Pittsburgh at four dollars per bushel, and the salt-carrying trade over the Allegheny Mountains was brought to an end. Later the price was reduced to two dollars and forty cents per bushel.

General O'Hara also built ships at Pittsburgh. They cleared from this inland port and made voyages to Liverpool, South America, and the West Indies, taking a cargo of fur and peltries for the English port, and flour for South America and the West Indies. In 1805 he built the *General Butler*, which sailed for Liverpool, taking a cargo of glass for river ports and taking on a shipment of cotton at New Orleans. A return cargo was also taken on. Captain Samuel Lake was the captain, and W. C. O'Hara, the General's eldest son, was supercargo. In May, 1807, the new ship again sailed down the Ohio, but was captured by a Spanish schooner in the Caribbean Sea and taken to Vera Cruz. The *Betsey*, another vessel built by him, plied between Baltimore and the West Indies.

General O'Hara's hospitality was famous. His house was always open to rich and poor alike. When Louis Philippe, heir to the throne of France, came to Pittsburgh, with General

Moreau and other French officers, the General entertained them. Louis was then in exile on account of the French Revolution.

When the Branch Bank of Pennsylvania was established in Pittsburgh in 1804, General O'Hara was chosen one of the directors and succeeded General John Wilkins, who was the first president. This was the first bank established west of the Allegheny Mountains.

General O'Hara died, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, on the twenty-first of December, 1819, at his home in Water Street, and the entire town mourned. It is said that at his coffin the tears of the rich and poor were commingled, for he had been the firm friend of both, treating all with justice. His wife, Mary Carson O'Hara, survived him several years. She died April 8, 1834, aged seventy-three. The children of General O'Hara were:

William Carson O'Hara, who married his cousin, Mary Carson and died without issue; James O'Hara, who married Elizabeth Neville and died without issue; Charles O'Hara, who died young; Richard Butley O'Hara, who married Mary Fitzsimmons and had issue; Elizabeth Febiger O'Hara, who married Harmer Denny and had issue; Mary Carson O'Hara, who married William Croghan of Louisville, and had issue.

T H E

New - York Weekly JOURNAL

Containing the freshest Advices, Foreign, and Domestic.

MUNDAY January 27th, 1734.

*Fustum et tenacem propositi Virum,
Non civium Ardor prava jumentum,
Non Vultus instantis Tyranni,
Mente quatis solida.*

Hor.



THE first essential Ingredient Necessary to form a Patriot, is Impartiality; for if a Person shall think himself bound by any other Rules but those of his own Reason and Judgment, or obliged to follow the Dictates of others, who shall appear the Heads of the Party he is engaged in, he sinks below the Dignity of a Humane Creature, and voluntarily resigns those Guides which Nature has given him, to direct him in all Spheres of Life.

The Coldness, and sometimes Diffidence, which a Man governed thus by the Principles of Honour generally meets with on such Occasions from the Friends he has ever acted in Concert with, for the former Part of his Life, are Considerations which but too often subdue the best inclined Spirits, and prevail with them to be passive and obedient, rather than active and resolute: But if such Persons could but once feel the Comfort and Pleasure of having done their Duty, they would meet with a sufficient Reward within themselves, to over balance the Loss of their Friends, or the Malice of their Enemies,

Ambition and Avarice are two Vices, which are directly opposite to the Character of a Patriot, for tho' an Increase of Power, or of Riches, may be the proper Reward of Honour and Merit, and the most honest Statesman may, with Justice accept of either; yet when the Mind is infected with a Thirst after them, all Notions of Truth, Principle and Independency are Lost in such Minds, and, by growing Slaves to their own Passions, they become Naturally subservient to those who can indulge and gratify them.

In public Affairs it is the Duty of every Man to be free from personal Prejudices; neither ought we to oppose any Step that is taking for the Good of our Country, purely because those that are the Contrivers and Advisers of it, are Obnoxious to us. There are but too many Precedents of this Nature, when Men have cast the most black Colours on the Wisest of Administrations, because those that had the Direction of Affairs were their Enemies in private Life; and this ill Way of Judging may be attended with dangerous Consequences to the common Weal.

Intrepidity and Firmness are two Virtues which every Patriot must be Master of, or else all the other Talents he is possess'd of are useless and barren.

Whoever, therefore, when he has formed a Judgment on any Subject relating



GEORGE BRUCE
IN THE 80TH YEAR OF HIS AGE

BOOK OF BRUCE

BY LYMAN HORACE WEEKS

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

ARMS OF THE BRUCES AND COLLATERAL FAMILIES

AS to armorial bearings, in the early centuries of the Christian era, either none were worn, or they were continually changed, says Henry Drummond, the antiquarian. In some instances they were even taken irrespective of relationship, and in other cases members of the same family varied them as suited their respective inclinations. Arms of the Bruces in the different branches, and of the leading Scottish families that became allied to the Bruces, are given herewith.

BRUCE—The bearings of the original stock of the Scottish Bruces were: a lion rampant azure on a field argent. Alan de Brusee had: a lion rampant gules on a field or. The Skelton line adopted a lion rampant azure on a field argent, and the Brember line a lion or on a field azure. Jacques de Breze, Baron de Brieuze, marshal of Normandy, had: a lion rampant azure on a field or. After the Bruces became fully established in Scotland many changes were made in their arms. Robert Brusee, Robert Le Meschin, the fourth of the name, had: or, a saltire and chief gules. Robert Bruce, sixth of the name, had: or, a saltire gules, chief argent, a lion passant. The same Robert Bruce used as a seal the arms of the earls of Huntingdon. The arms of King Robert Bruce were: or, a saltire gules, on a chief gules, a lion passant. Edward Bruce of Blairhall had: or, a saltire gules, chief gules charged with a crescent. George Bruce of Carnock had: quarterly, first and second argent, a lion rampant azure; second and third or, a saltire and chief gules. The Bruces of Carrick adopted the arms of the Bruces barons of Annandale: or, a saltire and chief gules; in a later generation one of the

Ailesbury branches of the family used the same arms with a lion rampant azure on a canton argent.

HUNTINGDON—Nisbet the antiquarian observed:

“David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of King William of Scotland, did not use the entire arms of his grandfather, King David I., but only a small part of them; argent, an escutcheon within a double tressure flowered and counter-flowered gules. He had the field of his arms argent and not of the metal or, that of Scotland, because it was the field of arms of his grandmother, daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon.”

Robert Bruce of Annandale sometimes bore the arms of Huntingdon.

WALTHEOF—The last Saxon earl of Northumberland, Waltheof, ancestors of the earls of Huntingdon, had: argent, a lion rampant azure, chief gules.

ORKNEY—The arms of the earldom of Orkney were: azure, a ship at anchor, oars in saltire and sails furled within a double tressure, flory and counterflory or.

CAITHNESS—The arms of the ancient earldom of Caithness were: azure, a ship under sail or, the sails or.

NORMANDY—William the Conqueror used the arms of his great ancestor, Rollo, the first duke of Normandy: gules, two lions passant, guardant or.

GLOUCESTER—The earls of Gloucester—de Clare—who were the ancestors of Isabel de Clare, who married the seventh Robert Bruce, had: three chevrons or, gules. This line became extinct in 1313.

WARREN—The earls of Warren and Surrey had: chequy, or and azure.

DE BURGH—The first earl of Ulster, Richard de Burgh of Ireland, whose great-granddaughter, Elizabeth Aylmer de Burgh, was the second wife of King Robert Bruce, had: or, a cross, gules.

ELGIN AND KINCARDINE—The lords of Kinloss and the earls of Elgin and Kincardine with their near connections have had almost exclusive distinction as the remaining direct line of male descendants from King Robert Bruce. As has been genealogic-

ally shown on other pages, they are derived from the Clackmannan branch of the Bruce stock, which has been the one line most conspicuously preserved in its identity. The arms of the earls of Elgin and Kincardine are: or, a saltire and chief gules, on a canton argent, a lion rampant azure; crest, a lion statant azure; supporters, two savages proper wreathed about the head and middle with laurel vert; motto: *Fuimus*.

AILESBUURY—The Ailesbury branch, Barons Bruce of Whorlton, Yorkshire, now extinct, had these arms: or, a saltire and chief gules, on a canton argent a lion rampant azure,—the same as the earls of Elgin and Kincardine, to whom they were allied. The arms of the modern Ailesbury family are: quarterly, first and fourth or, a saltire and chief gules, on a canton argent, a lion rampant azure, for Bruce; second and third argent, a chevron gules between three morions or steel caps azure, for Brudenell; crests, first, a seahorse argent, and second, a lion passant azure; supporters, two savages proper wreathed around the loins and temples vert, each supporting in the exterior hand a flag, thereon the first quarter of the arms for Bruce; motto: *Fuimus*.

CLACKMANNAN—The arms of Bruce of Clackmannan in the sixteenth century were: or a saltire and chief gules, the latter charged with a mullet argent in dexter chief. Later arms of this branch are: or, a saltire and chief gules; crest, a hand in armor proper (including the upper part of the elbow) issuing out of a cloud, grasping a sceptre, and signed on the point with a closed crown or; supporters, dexter, the lion of England, and sinister, the royal unicorn of Scotland; motto, *Fuimus*. These were the heraldic ensigns of Henry Bruce, the last of the Clackmannans. They were also carried by David Bruce in 1686, who added the motto: *No deest generoso pectori virtus*.

CULTMALINDIE—Robert Bruce of Cultmanlindie had: quarterly, first and fourth, or a saltire and chief gules, charged with a mullet or; second and third gules, a lion rampant argent.

DEVONSHIRE—The arms of the Cavendish family, dukes of Devonshire, to which the marriage of Christiana Bruce to William Cavendish gave added distinction, are: sable, three bucks' heads, caboshed argent; crest, a serpent, nowed, proper; sup-

porters, two bucks proper, each wreathed around the neck with a chaplet of roses alternately argent and azure; motto, *Cavendo tutus*.

STEWART—The arms of the Stewarts were: or, a fesse chequy argent and azure. These arms were quartered by the several branches of the family.

MORAY—The Randolphs who were Earls of Moray were Bruces through Isabel Bruce,—sister of King Robert Bruce I.,—who married Thomas Randolph. The earldom became extinct in 1465. The arms were: or, three cushions, two and one of a lozenge form, with a double tressure, flory and counterflory gules.

DUNBAR—The arms of the ancient house of Dunbar were: gules, a lion rampant argent, within a bordure of the last, charged with eight roses of the field. The earlier seals exhibit simply the lion rampant, the bordure of roses being, according to Nisbet, the badge of the comital office of the Patrick Dunbar who was first designated earl of March.

ELPHINSTON—The arms of the Elphinston family are: argent, a chevron sable between three boars' heads, erased gules, armed of the first; crest, a lady, from the middle, richly attired proper, holding in her dexter hand a castle argent, and in her sinister hand a branch of laurel proper; supporters, two savages proper with laurel garlands around their heads and loins and carrying clubs on their shoulders proper; motto, *Cause causit*.

OLIPHANT—The arms of the Oliphants are: gules, three crescents argent; crest, a unicorn's head, couped, argent, maned and horned, or; supporters, two elephants proper; motto: *A tout pourvoir*.

VIPONT—The Viponts of Scotland have for arms: gules, six mascles, three, two and one or.

CAMPBELL—The oldest arms of the Campbells of Lochow were: gyronny of eight or and sable. The arms of the later Campbells of Glenlyon, with whom the Bruces married, are in part like those of the earls of Breadalbane, also a Bruce family. They are: quarterly, first and fourth, gyronny of eight or and sable, for Campbell; second, or, a fesse chequy argent and azure, for Stewart; third, argent, a lymphad, her sails furled and oars in action, all sable, for Lorn; in the centre of the quarters a

man's heart gules, crowned or; crest, a demi-lion porper with a collar gyronny of eight or and sable and holding in his dexter paw a heart crowned as in the arms; motto, *Quae recta sequer*. Campbell of Barbreck, descended from Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, nephew of Sir Robert Bruce, had: quarterly, first and fourth, gyronny of eight or and sable; second, argent a broadsword in bend gules, hilted sable; third, argent, a castle triple-towered sable; on an escutcheon of pretence sable, a boar's head erased or, a crescent argent in chief; crest, a lion's head affrontee proper; motto, I bear in mind.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

BRUCES IN AMERICA

GEORGE BRUCE OF NEW YORK AND HIS DESCENDANTS

THE ancient Scottish family of Bruce has been transplanted to America at different periods of our country's history by various emigrants. These representatives settled in several states and their descendants have been numerous and influential in many communities. Pre-eminent among these American branches are those established by the brothers David Bruce and George Bruce, the celebrated type-founders, both whom were conspicuous citizens of New York in their generation. This memoir is concerned with the younger of these brothers, George Bruce, his wife, Catherine (Wolfe) Bruce,—daughter of David Wolfe,—and their children.

I

GEORGE BRUCE, son of John and Janet (Gilbertson) Bruce, was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, June 26, 1781. His eldest brother, David Bruce, came to America about 1790, establishing himself in the printing business in Philadelphia. During the Napoleonic wars, John Bruce, a younger son of this family, lost his life in the army in Egypt, and, the family fearing to lose another of its members in the same way, George Bruce followed his brother to America.

Upon arriving in Philadelphia, the Scotch laddie, then only fourteen years old, obtained employment with a firm of book printers and binders. In 1797, he entered the office of the Phil-

adelphia Gazette, an afternoon paper rejoicing in a circulation of some two thousand. There he remained about a year, when, to escape the yellow fever epidemic then raging, he and his brother left the Quaker City. He was attacked by fever on his way north and, being unable to obtain a place to stop, remained in a shed, being taken care of by his brother; he always believed that he owed his life to this enforced fresh-air treatment. The two brothers proceeded to New York and from there went to Albany, where they were employed in the office of the Sentinel, which did the official printing for the state legislature.

In the spring of 1799, the brothers went to New York city, a removal which was destined to be permanent and to lead them to both fortune and fame. George Bruce, now in his eighteenth year, secured a position in the printing establishment of the Mercantile Advertiser, owing to his youth being able to obtain only three-fourths journeyman's wages. Subsequently he was employed on books in the offices of Isaac Collins, James Crane, and T. & J. Woods. During this time the Franklin Typographical Association was organized by the journeyman printers of the city, about fifty signing the constitution, and he was elected its secretary—an evidence of the substantial standing which already he had attained in his craft. In 1802, he became connected with the office of the Daily Advertiser, of which he was made foreman in the course of a year; later, he assumed entire responsibility for the publication of the paper, his name appearing as its printer in the volumes for 1803, 1804, and 1805.

About the end of 1805 Mr. Bruce embarked in the printing business on his own account, and among other works issued from his press were reprints of various standard books from England. Joining in partnership with his brother, the firm of D. & G. Bruce, which afterwards attained a wide celebrity, was organized. With a new press and types from Philadelphia, "they established themselves in the upper part of a house at the southwest corner of Wall and Pearl streets. The apartment, which they hired of Miss Rivington, was the same which had been occupied by her father, as the king's printer, during the Revolutionary War." Marked prosperity attended this venture, and within a brief time the firm had nine presses in operation. As an instance of their vigorous enterprise, it is noteworthy that they regularly brought

out reproductions of the Edinburgh, London, and Quarterly Reviews, the first American reprints of those British periodicals.

In 1812 was taken the first step which resulted in the introduction by them of the art of stereotyping in America, and, incidentally, in establishing of their great type-founding business. During that year David Bruce made a visit to England to look into the merits of the stereotyping process, then newly invented and known only to a Mr. Walker of London and to the printers to the universities of Cambridge and Oxford. He obtained by purchase the rights to the process, and in 1814 the Bruce firm issued the first edition of the New Testament from plates stereotyped in America, while in 1815 the first edition of the Bible was thus produced. As a measure of economy, to provide the requisite qualities of type for stereotyping, a type-foundry was begun, at first as a mere incident of the printing business. Owing to betrayal of trust by one of the workmen of the establishment, the stereotyping business did not continue profitable. On the other hand the type-founding department speedily grew in importance, and after the retirement of David Bruce in 1822, George Bruce, who succeeded to the direction of the concern, turned his energies exclusively to type manufacture.

The Bruce foundry under his management promptly took rank among the leading establishments of its kind in the world. The personal contributions of George Bruce towards the perfecting of type manufacture, in both its mechanical and its artistic aspects, were in the highest degree noteworthy, leaving a lasting impress upon the progress of that industry.

"Aiming to attain to the best process of 'punch-cutting,' he was enabled to produce many fonts of type for ordinary use of the most perfect symmetry, while his fancy types and borders were of such variety and excellence as to enable the letter-press printer to rival the productions of the copper-plate presses in superior execution and effect. He himself cut two fonts of beautiful 'script' probably yet unexcelled. He formed a new scale for the bodies of printing type, by means of which each body bears a certain relative proportion to the next, thus leading to the present perfect 'point' system adopted by printers generally. His nephew, David Bruce, Jr., invented the only type-casting machine that has stood the test of practical work and is now in general use. To this he added some improvements and bought the patent from his nephew."

For many years George Bruce was president of the Mechanics' Institute of New York city and the Type Founders' Association. He was a member, among other organizations, of the New York Historical Society, Saint Andrew's Society, and the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen. Says one of his biographers:

"He was a man of great thought, quiet benevolence, of thorough business integrity and loyalty to principle, and of unusual force of character. The success he achieved was due to his own intelligent foresight and patient attention to business. He never received financial aid in his business or otherwise, but, always living within his income, was able to permit himself the luxury of assiting others."¹

He died in New York, July 5, 1866.

He married, in 1811, Catherine Wolfe, daughter of David Wolfe of New York.

Issue:

1. Janet (Jenet) Bruce. She married Dr. G. Brown of Newburgh, N. Y., and left one son, *G. Bruce Brown*, of whom below.

2. *Catherine Wolfe Bruce*, of whom below.

3. David Wolfe Bruce. He died March 13, 1895, in his seventy-first year. He was named from his maternal grandfather. Succeeding to the conduct of the Bruce type-foundry, he manged it successfully until his retirement from active business. Like his father, he was a man of high business and personal standing in the community.

4. Matilda Wolfe Bruce, who is now the only survivor of this family. Her home is in New York city.

5. George Wolfe Bruce. He was born in 1828 and died November 14, 1887. He attended Columbia College, but before graduation left to engage in business, becoming one of the most reputable merchants in New York.

II

CATHERINE WOLFE BRUCE was born in New York and died March 13, 1900. She left an enduring name in connection with the encouragement and advancement of educational and scientific interests, especially in the department of astronomical science. From the early age of five years she loved the science of astronomy. Her services for the promotion of astronomical work are known throughout the world, and were the more valuable for being judiciously directed. During her lifetime she gave in excess of \$200,000 to that end. To the Harvard Observatory she

1. "Memorial History of New York," Biog. Vol., p. 23.

presented the splendid Bruce photographic telescope, with which much of the most notable scientific work of our times has been achieved, including the discovery of Phœbe, the satellite of Saturn, by Professor W. H. Pickering, in August, 1898. This instrument is in constant use for photographing, and for spectroscopic plates showing the composition of stars too faint to be studied in this way elsewhere. In 1897 she established a fund under the auspices of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, to provide for the award of a gold medal annually for distinguished achievements in astronomy. Her benefactions in other directions, and her contributions to charity, were large.

At the time of her death the following tribute, signed W. L. K. was published in the New York Tribune of March 25, 1900:

"Miss Catherine Wolfe Bruce, who died after a long illness at her home, No. 8 to Fifth Avenue, on the night of March 13, deserves more than the ordinary obituary record, for she was a woman of the highest character, and contributed nobly of her means to the cause of charity, of education, and of science. The George Bruce Free Library she built, established, and endowed, and it is to-day one of the most flourishing branches of the free-library system. Her benefactions in the cause of astronomy are known all over the world, and her name is identified with many important advances in that science. She corresponded with eminent professors here and in Europe, and was the recipient of distinguished honors for her interest and service. A gold medal was presented to her by the Grand Duke of Baden, and she enjoyed the signal distinction of having her name given to a newly discovered asteroid. Upward of \$200,000 has been her contribution to the science she loved. Her charitable gifts and those of private benevolence need not be mentioned here.

"Miss Bruce was the daughter of George Bruce, the famous typefounder, whose work has stood the test of time and change, and is still in use at the present day. Naturally she was interested in the art of printing—that art 'preservative of all arts,' as she was fond of quoting. It has been said that she was an accomplished woman. She had made a study of painting and was a painter herself. She knew Latin, German, French, and Italian, and was familiar with the literature of those languages. She wrote and published in 1890 a translation of the *Dies Iræ*. For many years she was an invalid, and deprived of that society which her talents and character well fitted her to adorn. She was always patient and uncomplaining, and entirely resigned to the will of the Almighty Disposer of Events. She has left a gracious memory of good and generous deeds and an impressive example of noble womanhood."

III

GEORGE BRUCE BROWN, son of Dr. George Brown and his wife, Janet (Janet) Bruce, married, first, Virginia McKesson; second, Ruth Arabella Loney—Mrs. Bruce-Brown.

Issue (by first wife):

1. George McKesson Brown.
2. Catherine Wolfe Brown, who married Allen Donellan Loney and had Virginia Bruce Loney.

(By second wife):

3. William Bruce-Brown.
4. David Loney Bruce-Brown.

In America four generations of the old Lutheran family Wolfe have been resident in New York city in the line of Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, of beloved memory, and her honored father, John David Wolfe (second of that name), each reflecting credit upon the name and being remembered for its usefulness in the community. The family became allied to the Bruces by the marriage of Catherine Wolfe, daughter of David and Catherine (Forbes) Wolfe, to George Bruce.

JOHN DAVID WOLFE, who established the family in America, was born of Lutheran parents in Saxony, Germany, October 13, 1693. He came to the province of New York in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, at the time of the notable German movement to the American shores. Entering upon business, he soon attained a substantial position in the commercial world and from the outset of his career enjoyed excellent social standing. He died in 1795. He married, in the Dutch Church, November 21, 1747, the widow Catherine Busch, who survived him: Issue: 1. *David Wolfe*, of whom below. 2. Christopher Wolfe. 3. Maria Wolfe. 4. John Albert Wolfe.

DAVID WOLFE, son of the preceding, was born in New York, August 21, 1748. Inheriting the paternal home, he lived there during nearly the whole of his life of eighty-three years. He was one of the first to volunteer in the cause of American independence, and became captain of a company of militia. He continued in the service until the end of the Revolution, being for a portion of the time quartermaster in Washington's army under Quartermaster-General Timothy Pickering. After receiving his honorable discharge he engaged in the hardware trade in New York. He died August 13, 1836. He married Catharine Forbes. Issue: 1. *John David Wolfe*, of whom below. 2. Catharine Wolfe, who married George Bruce. 3. Harriet Matilda Wolfe, who married Japhet Bishop.

JOHN DAVID WOLFE, son of the preceding, was born in New York, July 24, 1792. Succeeding his father in business, he was a man of consummate business abilities, and enjoyed a high degree of prosperity. The last thirty years of his life were spent in retirement from active pursuits and in works of beneficence and philanthropy.

He was for many years a vestryman of Trinity Church, and later was senior warden of Grace Church. He was deeply interested in the work of the American Museum of Natural History, of which he served some time as president. He died May 17, 1872. He married Dorothea Ann Lorillard, daughter of Peter A. Lorillard, of the second American Lorillard generation, and his wife, Maria Dorothea Schultz. Issue: 1. A daughter who died young. 2. *Catherine Lorillard Wolfe*, of whom below.

CATHERINE LORILLARD WOLFE was born in New York, March 8, 1828. She was by far the most notable American woman of her time in works of philanthropy.

"At first her benefactions amounted to \$100,000 per year, but as her resources increased they rose to an average of more than double that sum. It is estimated that in the last fifteen years of her life, she gave away more than \$4,000,000. She fostered all the charities established by her father, and carried out his design by purchasing thirteen acres at Fordham, N. Y., which she gave as a site for the Home for Incurables. She built schools and churches in many places, West and South; added to the funds of the Seminary at Alexandria, Egypt, and to the American School in Athens, and contributed largely to the building of the American chapels in Rome and Paris. She distributed large amounts annually to indigent clergymen or their families left destitute, as also to the deserving poor in general through the ministers and charitable institutions of the Protestant Episcopal church and aided many religious and educational institutions. In 1884, she supplied funds for the expedition of exploration to Asia under charge of Dr. William H. Ward, which opened the way for important archæological discoveries."²

She died in New York City, April 4, 1887.

2. "Memorial History of the City of New York," Biog. Vol., pp. 26-27.

IN THE LAND OF THE DEERSLAYER

DELLA THOMPSON LUTES

SUMMER guests in the village of Cooperstown who religiously visit the little old burying ground in Christ Church yard and stand before the age blackened marble slab under which lies all that is mortal of James Fenimore Cooper, seldom pause to remember that less than two hundred years ago these hills reverberated to the red man's war whoop, or that the waters of the placid stream which finds its source in the lake upon which Cooperstown is situated, once ran red with mingled blood of Indian brave and white man, pioneer.

So rapidly had our country advanced, so swift has been its history that we find it difficult to realize how few are the years between conflict and peace. And yet on these village streets still stand houses whose first occupants were pioneer settlers.

Cooperstown was founded by Judge William Cooper who came West from Burlington, N. J., in 1785, when he came into possession of a large tract of land lying along the shores of Otsego lake and the Susquehanna below. The forests about the lake were then so dense that Judge Cooper was obliged to climb a tree in order to get a view of the lake.

Two years previous to this George Washington, on a tour of inspection of the inland waters of New York State, with a view to their navigable possibilities, had visited the lake and spoke of the charm of the scenery in a letter written home; and still previous to this, in 1779, General James Clinton in the Revolutionary Conflict had built a dam near the source of the Susquehanna in order that he might float his boats to Tioga Point to join forces with General Sullivan. This is the only Revolutionary or historic event which happened in this immediate vicinity, although Cherry Valley twelve miles away was the scene of one of the bloodiest massacres in the war, and Springfield but eight miles away was completely burned to the ground, and all its inhabitants driven away as were those of Milford, Unadilla, Otego and Oneonta.

A stone marker fittingly inscribed marks the spot at the mouth of the Susquehanna where this dam was erected and near it in the edge of the lake, is a rock around which, tradition says, the Indians gathered in canoes and on shore to hold friendly council, and which is still known as Council Rock. Just where the main street of the village turns to wind up hill to Mt. Vision, within an inclosure known as the Indian Battle Ground, is a mound in the side of which is fitted a stone slab bearing this inscription:

"White Man, Greeting!

WE, NEAR WHOSE BONES YOU STAND,
WERE IROQUOIS. THE WIDE LAND
WHICH NOW IS YOURS, WAS OURS.
FRIENDLY HANDS HAVE GIVEN BACK
TO US ENOUGH FOR A TOMB."

A feeling of melancholy possesses one as he reads this inscription, almost that of a usurper, and into his mind comes the stories of "Ramona,"—and "The Last of The Mohicans." This was the country to which Judge William Cooper brought his family in 1789, James Fenimore Cooper then being one year old. In this country "with the vast forest around him, stretching up the mountains that overlook the lake, and far beyond, is a region where the Indians yet roamed, and the white hunter, half Indian in his dress and mode of life, sought his game. A region in which the bear and the wolf were yet hunted, and the panther, more formidable than either, lurked in the thickets and tales of wandering in the wilderness and encounters with these fierce animals, beguiled the length of the winter nights." James Fenimore Cooper lived for sixty-eight years. Here, also he wrote the famous "Leatherstocking Tales," the scenes for which he found in these hills and along the shores of this lake.

All about the village and surrounding country are reminders of these tales, and no one forgets as he goes from mountain to glen that he is in a land haunted by the memory of the Deer slayer. On Mt. Vision, just above the village at the lower end of the lake, stands a little observatory out upon a rocky promontory which was the opening scene of the Pioneers. Farther along the crest of the hill is Leatherstocking Cave in which small boys

love to hide and conjure up the vision of Indian war-paint and tomahawk, and from which they send out upon the lake a sort of civilized version of the war whoop.

Streets, hotels, steamers, all bear the names of these famous novels and their characters, and one wanders about in summer days from Mohican Glen to Leatherstocking Falls; takes the steamer "Deerslayer" for Hutter's Point or the scene of the sunken Islands where stood the hunting shanty of old Hutter the trapper and his beautiful daughters, Judith and Hetty, and almost fancies himself in an enchanted land.

James Fenimore Cooper is ranked amongst the foremost of American novelists and it is but just that the home of his childhood, the scene of his famous novels should receive all the homage that is being so gladly given it by not only American lovers of his work, but by literary devotees of the world. At the centennial of his birth which was celebrated in Cooperstown in 1907, men and women of world wide fame came many miles to give of their talent in tribute to Cooper's memory, and many who could not come sent letters of regret and loving messages. Edward Everett Hale, H. M. Alden, Donald G. Mitchell (Ik Marvel), John Burroughs, Admiral George Dewey and many other noted people sent letters of congratulation upon this occasion, and many of them recalled visits they had paid to this delightful spot, one and all praising with lavish terms the magnificent scenery. Queen Elisabeth of Roumania, better known as "Carmen Sylva" who is an ardent admirer of the Cooper tales sent a letter of congratulation and a large photograph of herself. The Honorable John Northington told of an interview with the Khedive of Egypt in which the latter expressed an "admiration for Cooper that could not be excelled in earnestness and ardor by any utterance of his most enthusiastic American appreciator." He said that when a student in Paris he had come upon Cooper's "Spy," and had followed this with the "Leatherstocking Tales," which had "opened up a new world to him and he was charmed. The sublime and shadowy forests, the silent lakes high up in the evergreen hills, the cool rivers—how they captivated his soul! He would, he exclaimed, give a year of his life if he might view the Glimmer-glass—if he could tread a forest trail."

"In his fine library," said Mr. Northington, "the Khedive showed me with very evident satisfaction, his three magnificent sets of Cooper's works, in French, German and English."

Thanks to generous and tradition loving land owners to whom large tracts of the lands surrounding Otsego lake belong, the forests remain the same, the Indian trails still lead to cave and observatory; no signs or advertising placards are allowed to mar the exquisite scenery; no bill board or posters greet the eye, but instead are solid banks of stately pines relieved by slender birch and glossy chestnut. Beautiful summer homes here and there stand out from a background of pine and hemlock, and an enormous summer hotel is being built on the lower shore of the Otsego, to be known as the Otesaga, and which will be ready for guests in the early summer season.

Many wealthy New Yorkers spend the entire summers here, having fine residences with large grounds. The late Bishop Potter's summer residence is here, and here he died last summer Mr. Spaulding, of Spaulding Glue fame, has a magnificent summer residence at the head of the lake, and Adolphus Busch—the Busch of 'Anheuser' notoriety, also has a large estate upon which is grown many acres of the hops used in manufacturing his famous beer. The Clark estate is the largest of many, extending many hundreds of acres along the shores of the lake.

Cooperstown, in the days of the old Cooper house, was the scene of much gayety and social life, and many guests of renown have registered upon the old books which were destroyed in the fire which destroyed it in 1891. In the days of the new Otesaga there will be new social life, new gayety; the lake will resound with gay voices and modern canoes will float upon the same waters where once the humble bark noiselessly drifted its shadowed way; daintily shod feet will tread the same trail over which moccasin once stealthily slipped; a younger generation will read with slightly curious gaze the inscription on age worn slab and Indian battle ground, but let us hope that with all this, the men and women of letters, the lover of literature as well as the lover of beautiful scenery will make of Cooperstown the literary shrine of America, as Stratford-on-Avon is the Mecca of literary devotees in England.

ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF HERALDRY

IX

CONTINUATION OF THE CONSIDERATION OF ANIMALS USED IN HERALDRY, THEIR ORIGIN AND THE SENTIMENTS WHICH ARE REPRESENTED BY THEM

BY HENRY WHITTEMORE

TOWERS differ from castles, being smaller, and are not triple-towered as castles; they have one or two towers above the embattlement, by the French called *doujonne*. The same may be said of the town of Aberdeen, *doujonne de trois pieces*, which in English are to be blazoned gules, three towers (not castles) triple towered, within a double tressure, flowered and counter-flowered argent, supported by two leopards proper, with the motto "*bon accord*."

The double tressure being a part of the royal arms, was granted as an honorable additament for the singular loyalty of the citizens of Aberdeen, who cut off in one night their old enemies, the English, their word being "*bon accord*," which arms are on the face of the town seal, and on the reverse in a field azure, a church argent, masoned sable, St. Michael standing in the porch, mitred and vested proper, with his right hand lifted up, praying over three children in a boiling cauldron of the first, and in his left hand a crozier or.

Edinburgh, the metropolitan city of Scotland, is eminent for its impregnable castle, which is thought to be older than the city anciently called *arx puellarum*, the Warden Castle; where the honorable virgins, the daughters of the sovereigns and of the nobility were kept from the insults of the enemy in time of war. The city has that castle represented for its arms, sometimes black in a white field; and at other times white in a black field.

The laird of Kincaird, in Stirlingshire, chief of the name, whose predecessor, for his valiant service in recovering of the castle of Edinburgh from the English in the time of King Edward I., was made constable of the castle, and whose posterity enjoyed that office for many years, carried the castle in his arms in memory thereof. There is an old broadsword belonging to some of the families of the name of Kincaird upon which were the above arms, with the castle and inscribed with the following:

“Who will persew, I will defend
My life and honor to the end.”

CHURCHES, BRIDGES, and other architectural designs are carried in arms. There are families in Piedmont of the name of Chiesa—signifying in that county a church—who carry churches relative to their names. Thus, the name of Templeton carries, azure, a fesse or, and in a base a church or temple argent.

In England the name of Trowbridge, in allusion to the name, *quasi*. Throughbridge, carried arms, a bridge of three arches in fesse gules, masoned, sable, the streams transfluent proper.

The name of Arches, in England carries gules three arches, argent, masoned, sable 2 and 1.

PORTCULLIS, Latined *porta catarata* or *rostrum militairo*, was the hereditary badge, or cognizance of the sons of John Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, for which reason they were borne in the castle of Beaufort, in France. The name of Yelts, of Teverodale, carried arms, or, a fesse embattled, being three portcullis gules. The name of Yates, in England carry gates in allusion to the name.

SHIPS, and their parts are frequently carried for the arms of maritime countries and towns, and also by families, on account of their situation and trading by sea, or for the service they were obliged to perform to their kings by their charters.

The arms of Orkney are azure, a ship with its sails furled up, and oars cross the mast, or, carried by the old earls of Orkney as feudal arms. Thorfinn, earl of Orkney, married a natural daughter of King William; she bore to him John, earl of Orkney and Zieland; for this reason it is said the double tressure was placed round the ship as an additament of honor.

The ship, or lymphad, is the armorial figure of the McPhersons, and the coat their crest; the badge of Catte, who have been considered the stock of the Clauchattan in the highlands by several writers, and represented by the noble families of the Keiths and Sunderlands. All of which are said to have been originally from the Catte, in Germany. Forced by Tiberius Caesar to leave their own country and seek for another, and having embarked for Britain, they were driven by stress of weather to the north of Scotland, where they landed in a country called after them Caithness; that is the Catte's Corner. Afterwards they spread southwards to the country now called Sutherland; to which they gave the name of Callow, from their own, and the inhabitants were called South Catte.

The Chatti, or Clauchattan, continued several ages in both these countries; some of them joined with the Picts and some of them with the Scots. of whom were the progenitors of the Keiths and Sunderlands. The others, after the decisive battle given to the Picts by Kenneth II., King of Scots, were forced to leave their country, Caithness; but, by mediation of their friends got liberty to settle themselves at Lochaber, where they continued a long time, being called the Clauchatten, as by a manuscript of the family from the tradition of the Highland senaches and bards. In the reign of Makon IV., one Muriah, who was parson of the Kirk of Kinguisse in Badenoch, after the death of his elder brother, who died without male issue, was called by the whole clan and family to be their head. He married a daughter of the thane of Calder and by her had several sons.

McPherson, chief of the name carried arms, parted per fesse or, and azure, a lymphad or galley, with his seals tressed up, the oars in action of the first, in the dexter chief point a hand couped grasping a dagger, point upwards gules, and in the sinister chief point a cross crosslet, fetched of the last; crest, a cat saiant proper; with the motto, Touch not the cat but the glove.

This family have had their arms supported with two Highlanders with steel helmets on their heads, and short doublets azure, thighs bare, their shirt tied between them, and round targets on their arms, being the dress wherein those of the clan were wont to fight in many battles for the crown, being always loyal.

Sir Hector McLean was chief of the McLeans, an ancient, loyal, potent clan in the Highlands of Scotland, of which there have been very brave men. The achievement of the family of McLean as illuminated in the book of James Esplin, Marchmont Herald, 1630, has four coats; quarterly, first, argent, a rock gules; second, argent, a dexter hand, fesseways, coupé, gules, holding a cross crosslet, fitché in pale azure; third or, a lymphad sable; fourth, argent, a salmon naiant proper, and in chief two eagles. This achievement is represented standing on a compartment rephheads erased affronté gules; creste, a tower embattled argent. representing green land and sea.

The town of Leith, the suburb and seaport of Edinburgh, has for arms a ship, as on the seal of Edinburgh; on the seal is a shield, with the castle of Edinburgh *acote*, with another of the arms of Leith, having a ship with her sails trussed up.

Nantz and Rochelle, maritime towns in France, carry ships for their armorial figures.

The arms of the city of Paris, France, carry or, gules a ship equipped in full sail argent, a chief *consee* azure, *seme* of fleur-de-lis, or. Menestrier says it carries a ship because the isle, or land upon which the city is built, in its form represents a ship.

The equipment of ships—anchors, sails and rudders—are also used in arms.

ARTIFICIAL THINGS OR CHARGES AS THEY RELATE TO CIVIL LIFE IN TEMPORAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

These are considered as armorial figures within the shield, which form and constitute arms, as tesseras of descent, and ensigns of dominions, territories, and offices, to distinguish one kingdom from another, and one family from another, and some of them as honorable additaments to their paternal bearings, included in these are crowns, ancient and modern; the imperial mond, or globe; sceptres, buttons, the archiepiscopal pall, mitre, crosiers and keys. Crowns within the shield are no more marks of sovereignty and dignity than lions, horses, mullets, buckles, or other armorial figures.

The old earls of Garioch carried for arms, or, a fesse cheque,

azure and argent between three antique crowns (open ones with points), gules. David, earl of Huntingdon, younger son of Prince Henry, eldest son of King David I., was by his brother, King Malcolm IV., honored with the title of Earl of Garioch, which afterwards he resigned into the hands of his brother, King William for the earldom of Angus, which he did not keep long. Henry de Brechin, so designed from the place of his birth, a natural son of King William, was, by King Alexander II., made Earl of Garioch, and was succeeded in that dignity by his son Walden.

The armorial figures of the kingdom of Sweden, are three antique crowns, or; for the reason, it is said, that the bodies of the three kings, or wise men, who came from the East to adore our Saviour at his birth, are interred there.

The country of Murcia, in Spain, carries arms, azure; six ducal crowns, or three, two and one. They are said to be carried to represent and perpetuate as many victories obtained in that country by the Christians over the Moors.

Menestria says that crowns as armorial figures or charges in a shield are not to be taken for marks of dignity, but as rewards of valor and good counsel, with which great men were anciently honored; and with these armorial figures were adorned.

The name of Grant carries gules, three antique crowns or.

One Vanbassen, a Dane, in his manuscript in the Lawyers' Library, brings the first of the name from Norway to Scotland; and Sir George Mackenzie, in his manuscript, brings them from England, as Hollingshead mentioned one of the name of Grant, of old, a repairer of the University of Cambridge. There are many of that name in England, but by their arms they appear not to be the same stock with the Grants in Scotland, for they carry argent, three lions rampant, and a chief azure.

Others are of the opinion that the Grants are of the same stock with the Byzarts or Bissets, or Lovarts, who carried also the same crowns for their armorial figures; and by an evident granted by Bisset of Lovat to the Bishop of Murray, A. D., 1258, in which is mentioned Dominus Laurentius Grant, and Rebecca Grant, friends of the same Besset. However, the family of Grant is both ancient and powerful.

John Grant, of Frenchie, obtained a charter of confirmation

of the barony from King James IV., holding it of his majesty for military services, as by the charter in the earl of Haddington's Collection, by which it is evident that he was the head of a potent clan. John Grant, of Bellendallach, carried gules, a boar's head couped between three antique crowns, or; crest, an oak tree growing out of the wreath proper.

Sir Francis Grant, of Cullen, baronet, one of the senators of the college of justice, carried, gules, three antique crowns, or; as descended from Grant of that ilk, within a bordure of ermine, in quality of a judge; supported with two angels proper; crest, a book expanded.

John Grant, of Carron, a descendant of Frenchie, carried gules, a dove argent, holding in its beak an olive branch vert, between three antique crowns, or; and for crest, an adder new, with head erect proper; motto: Wise and harmless.

Sir Thomas Brand, gentleman usher of the Green Rod of the most ancient Order of the Thistle, or St. Andrew, in Scotland, carried quarterly, first and fourth azure two buttons, (or rods) or; ensigned on the top with the Union of Scotland, as to the badge of the official; second and third or, on a bend sable, three maseles argent, and a chief azure charged with as many stars of the third, for his paternal coat, and over all by way of an escutcheon, a geronne of eight, ermine and gules, within a bordure engrailed of the last for Campbell of Lundie, whose daughter he married.

The Archepiscopal pall, mitres, crosiers and keys, which are all marks of ecclesiastical authority, are frequent in arms, and especially those of the episcopal sees in England.

The Archepiscopal see of Canterbury carried arms, azure, a pastoral staff in pale argent, topped with a cross patee or, surmounted by an archepiscopal pall of the second, edged and fringed of the third, and charged with four crosses, fitché, sable.

The archepiscopal see of York carried gules, two Keys adosse in saltier argent, and in chief an imperial crown.

Mitres, crosiers, crosses and keys, have made up the arms of several churches, churchmen and laymen, who have had a dependence on the church, or from their name relative thereto;

as those of the name of Kirk, who, in the old and modern books of arms, carried gules, a bishop's crosier, or, with a sword saltier ways argent, and on a chief of the second, a thistle vert. The last figure shows them to have been of Scotch extraction, and to have assumed the surname from the Kirk or church, probably on account of some of them belonging thereto.

Sir William Kirk is mentioned in the first book of Knox's "History of the Reformation," as being the first, among many others, whom Cardinal Beaton summoned before him in the Abbey Kirk of Hollyroodshire, in 1534, because he favored the Reformation. King James V., being then present, and interposing his authority, commanded Sir William to return to his former principles, to which he submissively acquiesced, and publicly burned his bill. He was brother to Daniel Kirk, burgess of Edinburgh, father of John Kirk, the writer, whose son was Jerome Kirk, minister of Aberfoyl, in Perthshire.

There are several well known families of the name of Kirk in England, who carry other figures, as is pointed out in Gilim's "Display of Heraldry." Sir John Knox, of Eastham, in the county of Essex, descended from Sir David Kirk, who was governor and proprietor of Newfoundland, carried arms, parted per fesse, or and gules, a lozenge counterchanged, with a canton azure, thereon a lion supporting a cutlas, charged and collared argent. This canton was given on an augmentation to the said Sir Daniel Kirk, and to Lewis Kirk, governor of Canada, and to Captain Thomas Kirk, vice admiral of the English fleet, and to their descendants, for their good services done in encountering and vanquishing the French navy, and bringing the admiral prisoner to England, and for taking the country of Canada, then belonging to the French, in which expedition Sir David took the governor and brought him prisoner to England.

Crosses are the badges of devotion, and especially the portable ones, the cross crosslets, which are frequently seen in the hands of churchmen, represented on seals and by the bearings of ancient families.

Cushions are looked upon as a mark of authority, and have been carried as armorial figures by ancient families, as of the

Randolphs, earls of Moray, and also those of the name of Johnston.

Caps are likewise used as armorial figures, and even from the office of butler to sovereign, as by the Butlers, dukes of Ormond, who quarter their coat of office, azure, three cups, or (with their paternal coat, or, on a chief indented, azure. The figures of the coat of office have descended from the branches of the family of that name in Scotland. England and Ireland as relative to the name. Butler, of Kirkland, in East Lothian, carried arms, parted per fesse, engrailed, azure and gules, three covered cups, two in chief and one in base or; crest, a cup without a cross, or.

Hunting Horns or bugles are ordinarily hung by strapping: which, if of a different tincture from the bugle, are then said, by the old heralds, to be bendressed, because worn over the shoulders by way of a bend. The modern heralds say stringed of such a tincture, and the French say *liez*. Hunting horns sometimes have three mouthpieces, and rings of a different tincture from the body of the horn, for which the French say *enganche* and *verrte* of such tinctures. The English say of such a tincture, garnished.

The surname of Forrester is from the office of keeper of the king's forests, as appears by their armorial figures, hunting horns, called bugles. King Robert III. gave a charter of annuity of ten marks sterling to Sir Adam Forrester, out of the customs of Edinburgh. Forrester of Cardon, in Sterlingshire, carried arms, argent, three hunting horns sable garnished.

OF ARTIFICIAL THINGS OR CHARGES AS THEY RELATE TO PROFESSIONS LIBERAL AND MECHANICAL

These figures are not so frequent in England as in other nations. Some of them are made use of by merchants and tradesmen as packs of manufactured goods in oval and quadrangular cartouches, since it is not allowed by the laws of well governed nations to place such in formal shields.

The letter A., with the Roman was the mark of absolution, and carried a token of honor and innocency.

The republic of Lucas as a trophy of its preserved liberty, carries azure, the word *libertas* in bend, between two cotises or.

The Turks and Moors, being forbidden by their religion the use of images and figures of living creatures, place letters on their ensigns.

The Spaniards who had long wars with the Moors in Spain, placed letters and words on their armorial ensigns; as the family of Vigo and Andria, in Spain, place the word *ave maria*, orleways round their arms.

The name Bell carries relative to the arms, balls; as Bell of Kirkconnel, azure, three bells or. When the tongue or clapper of a bell is of a different tincture the French use the term *bataille*.

Padlocks are carried by the Lockharts as pertaining to the name.

Chess-rooks used in the game of chess are carried in the name of Orrock.

Wheels are carried in the arms as that ancient one to be seen in the first quarter of the achievement of the archbishop of Mentz, elector and grand chancellor of the empire, viz: gules, a wheel or, which had its rise from one Willigis, or Willikis, who came to be an archbishop and elector in the time of the Emperor Otto II. Being the son of a mean man, or carter, or wheelwright, he took for his arms a wheel as a sign of his humility, to show the meanness of his birth and had the wheel painted on all the rooms of his house and furniture to remind him of his mean extract, with the words *villegis recolles ques es & unde venes*. And ever since that wheel has become the fixed figure of that see, which the emperor, Henry II., confirmed.

The St. Katharine wheel is another sort of a wheel met with in arms, which has iron teeth around it, used as an instrument of torture of old, upon which St. Katharine, a confessor, was put to death. Sir James Turner, one of the chief commanders of the forces of King Charles II. of Scotland, carried arms, sable, a St. Katharine's wheel argent, quartered with, argent *gouttes de sang*.

The Plough, Wagon, and all other implements of agriculture,

are met with in arms. The name of Kroyo, in England carries azure, a plough in fesse argent, with the motto *jurat dum lacerat*.

The Wagon is carried by the name of Benning, a descendant of the family of Fast-Benning, by Benning, of Carlouriehall, and Benning, of Walliford. It is said that one William Benning, of this family, surprised the castle of Linlithgow by a stratagem with a wagon full of hay, in the reign of King Robert the Bruce; and for this good service in dispossessing the English, he obtained the lands of East Benning, with the wagon added to his arms to perpetuate that achievement.

Barnacles, an instrument used by horse farriers to curb and command unruly horses was carried in arms by the ancient family of Geneville, by corruption called Grenville, sometimes great in England and lords of Meath, in Ireland, viz: three horse barnacles extended, in pale or, on a chief ermine, a lion issuant gules.

The De Lyons in France, originally from the ancient Leons in Rome had for their armorial bearings a lion. A branch of the family in France accompanied William the Conqueror to England and some of them later went to Scotland with King Edgar, son of King Malcom III., and obtained from that king sundry lands in the shire of Perth, which were called Glen Lyon.

The achievement of this ancient and noble family is, argent, a lion rampant azure, armed and langued gules, within the double tressure, flowered and counterflowered of the last; crest, a lady to the girdle, holding in her right hand the royal thistle, and enclosed within a circle of laurels proper: in memory of the honor that family had by marrying the daughter of King Robert.

The Label or Lambel is taken for a piece of silk, stuff, or linen, with pendants. The French take it for a scarf or ribbon which young men wore anciently about the neck of their helmets with points hanging down when they went to the wars, or to military exercises in company with their fathers by which they were distinguished from them.

To the eldest son, in his father's life time was assigned a label with three points plain; but if his grandfather was living, says Gerard Lee, a label with five points. The label is always placed on the upper part of the shield, the chief, or collar points of the

shield, and sometimes also by English heralds upon their exterior ornaments. The transverse part is called beam; this does not touch the sides of the shield, and the pieces that hang down are the points, which are always broad at the ends.

This figure is an ancient difference or *brisure* made use of by all nations, and the heralds who wrote in Latin gave *laminiscus lambella*, and *fascicula brifidia*, because its points are ordinarily three, and plain of metal or color, especially when it is used by the eldest son in his father's lifetime.

The plain label is seldom assigned to the younger brother, but when the heirs male of the eldest brother fail, and the inheritance falls to their daughters, and their heirs, the younger brother and his issue may use the plain label as heir expectant. When the label is not plain, but under accidental forms, or changed with figures, it then shows the bearers to be younger sons or the descendants of such.

The younger sons of King Edward III., of England differenced themselves and their families from one another by a label over their imperial arms. Edward, the Black Prince of Wales, bore his father's sovereign ensign, viz: France quartered with England, bruised with a label of three points argent. Lionel Plantagenet, third son of King Edward, carried the same arms and label, parti gules and argent.

John, of Gaunt, the fourth son of King Edward, who was duke of Lancaster in right of his wife, the heiress thereof, carried also France and England quarterly, with a label ermine for his difference.

Edmund, the Duke of York, carried the same arms, with a label argent, but for difference charged it with tortauxe's gules. These last two brothers were the founders of the great families of Lancaster and York whose devices were the red and white roses, which became badges to their heirs and followers in the long and bloody war between the two families; and thereafter these were the badges of the kings of England. Since those days the label has been used to difference families by the greatest in Europe.

THE HELMET, HELME, CASQUE, OR MORION OF LEATHER OR METAL
OF VARIOUS KINDS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE HEAD.

Helmets of old were made of leather, called *galea*, meaning the skin of a beast, with which the ancients carved their heads to make them appear terrible in battle. But at last they came to be made of metal for the defence of the head. As early as 1063 B. C. the metal helmet was used to protect the head and face from the several offensive weapons of warfare. Thus Samuel referring to the giant Goliath, whom David slew, said: "and he had a helmet of brass upon his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail; and the weight was five thousand shekels of brass." In the New Testament Paul, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, urges his followers to, "take the helmet of salvation and the sword of the spirit."

Burke in his description says: "The most ancient form is the simplest, composed of iron, of a shape fitted to the head, and flat upon the top, with an apperture for the light. This is styled the Norman helmet, and appears on very old seals attached to the gorget, a separate piece of armor which covered the neck.

The French for helmet use the *beaum*, especially when they understand an old fashioned, close helmet, with holes for breathing and seeing through. But when the helmet is open with bars, and adorned with lambrequen, crest, and other ornaments, they call it then the *casque*, or *timbre*. The last they use ordinarily for all marks of dignity that are placed upon the top of the shield or escutcheon, whether military, civil or ecclesiastic.

Heralds have observed three things in respect to the helmet; its matter, form and situation.

The matter of which they are supposed to be made, is of the metals, gold, silver, and steel, which show three degrees of dignity, viz: those of sovereign princes, of gold; those of high nobility, of silver; and those of lesser nobility, such as gentlemen, of polished steel. This order was observed in Germany, especially in Flanders, where, by an edict, in 1616, it was not lawful for any one to use a gold helmet on his shield under the penalty of three hundred florins.

As to their form, they are either close or open; there are some who claim that the first is a sign of military nobility; and the

open one of civil nobility. In Germany, says one authority, a close helmet is a sign of bezure nobility, and an open one of ancient nobility; a helmet altogether open, a sign of sovereignty; when with bars, of dignified nobility; and when with a vizor, with holes only, a sign of inferior nobility. The Germans also distinguish the degrees of nobility by the number of the bars; eleven of them show the sovereign dignity of a superior and king; nine, the dignity of a duke and marquis; seven, that of an earl; five that of a lord; and three bars show the dignity of a knight, and a gentleman of descent.

Burke, in describing the English custom in the use of helmets, says: "The helmet assigned to kings and princes of the blood royal, is fullfaced, composed of gold, with the beauvoir divided by six projecting bars, and lined with crimson. The Helmet of the nobility is of steel, with five bars of gold; it is placed on the shield inclining to profile. The helmet of knights and Baronets is the fullfaced steel helmet, with the visor thrown back, and without bars. The Helmet of Esquires, always depicted in profile, is of steel, with the visor closed."

The situation of the helmet on the shield fore-right, fronting, or side-ways, intimating also the degree of greatness and power, by the matter of forms as above. So that a close helmet, situated side-ways is a mark, as heralds tell us, of a gentleman or soldier who has acquired honor by his assiduous services, being always ready to fight, and give attention to the command of his superior.

When a close helmet stands direct forward, it shows nobility altogether new, and acquired by some heroic action; when barred and placed sideways, it is the mark of some lord who has no command in battle, or otherwise, except over his own vassals. When placed fronting, it intimates a chief command, not only of his own, but other companies, and when altogether open and fronting, it shows some absolute and independent power.

Menestrier, in his "Origin of Exterior Ornaments" says that "all Helmets were of old, close and plain, until their metal, number of bars, and separation came to be taken notice of, and that not long ago; but since the year 1559, when the French gave over the use of tournaments because an accident which happened to King Henry II. of France, jousting in disport at

a tournament with Gilbert, Earl of Montgomery, Captain of the Scots Guards, who thereby was wounded in the eye, with the splinter of a spear, of which his majesty died." After this various forms of helmets were used, and placed upon shields of arms by the nobility to show their degrees of dignity and quality, especially by the number of bars.

The degrees of heraldry, according to the French standard, are thus described. The helmet of kings and emperors are all of gold, damasked, fronting altogether open, without bars and visor; because they are to see and know all things, and command all without contradiction. Dukes, marquises and earls have silver helmets damasked with gold; fronting with nine bars. Viscounts, barons and knights, have silver helmets with gold edges, standing in profile, or little turned to the side with seven bars. Esquires and gentlemen of ancient descent, have side standing helmets of polished steel with five bars in the guard visor. To gentlemen of their descent they give a helmet in profile; that is standing sideways with three bars only. To a knight they assign the helmet standing right forward, with the bearer a little open, to signify direction and command.

The Scots and the English have their helmets after one form, somewhat different from those of the French. A gentleman and an esquire have their helmets in profile, that is, posted sideways, with the bearer close, to signify attention and obedience. The helmet in profile, open with bars, belongs to all noblemen in Britain under the degree of a duke. The helmet right forward, and open with many bars, is assigned to dukes, princes of the blood, royal, and monarchs. The monarchs of Great Britain have their helmets the same way, fronting with bars, but the French give to their sovereigns a forestanding helmet open, without bars, and visor of gold.

All agree that an open helmet is nobler than a close one, and a direct fore-standing helmet than side-standing one. According to English custom a knight has a fore-standing helmet open; and the dignified nobility, a side-standing helmet with bars; for the reason that bars are more noble than visors or bearers, though cast up.

When they all go to battle they have close helmets of steel or

brass for the defence of the head, which are not of gold or silver, nor forward with a certain number of bars, which are used for ostentation, and placed upon the top of the shield to show the dignity of nobility in public places, and at solemn assemblies.

Elias Ashmole, in his "Institutions of the Most Noble Order of the Garter," says that:

"The Knights Companies of this Order have, besides their escutcheons of arms, their helmet, crest, and sword, hung up over their stalls in the chapel of St. George, at Windsor, and ordered to remain there during the lives of their possessors. The helmets used for their reason are made of steel, large and fair, of more than ordinary proportions, and of two sorts; one appointed for sovereign princes; gilded and formed open, with bailes or bars; the others for knights. Subjects in the reign of Henry VIII. were parcal gilt; but in Queen Elizabeth's reign and since, it is the custom to gild all over, having close visors, and to place St. George's red cross in the middle before the visors; and these are the form of the helmets of the Knights of the Garter at Windsor."

When there are two helmets on an escutcheon of arms they are placed facing each other, and when there are three helmets, that in the middle is placed fronting; and the other two *countourne*, that is, turned to it; and if three to four helmets in a shield, two looks to two. The practice of multiplying helmets is frequent with the Germans. The helmet with them is a sign of eminent nobility; if there are four, six, or eight helmets, the one half of them are turned looking to the other, and their mantlings and crests.

The wreath upon which the crest is generally borne is composed of two cords of silk interwoven or twisted together, the one tinctured of metal, and the other of the principal color in the arms. It was used to fasten the crest to the helmet.

The Crest, or Cognizance, (derived from the Latin word *crista*, a comb or tuft), originated in the thirteenth century, and served to distinguish the combatants in the battle or tournament. The crest, unless expressly stated to be on a chapeau or coronet is always on a wreath, which need not therefore be named in the blazon.

The helmet is placed immediately above the escutcheon, and supports the wreath on which is the crest.



SOME POLITICAL LETTERS OF THE RECONSTRUCTION DAYS SUCCEEDING THE CIVIL WAR

CONTRIBUTED BY DUANE MOWRY

THE letters which follow are all written in the same bold handwriting, evidently that of General John A. Dix. They were in the correspondence of ex-Senator James Rood Doolittle, of Wisconsin, and are now in the writer's possession. They have never been published. If not historically important, they are certainly valuable as throwing some light on the political affairs of the general government at the time to which they relate.

The "call" referred to in these letters is an interesting political document. It was dated July 10, 1866, and was designed to bring together at Philadelphia "a convention of the ablest men of the nation, without regard to their party antecedents, who favor, generally, the restoration policy President Johnson has advocated as against the dangerous course pursued by the majority of Congress." Of course, Judge Doolittle, then a United States senator, was one of the instigators of the patriotic movement; and it seems that from the letters submitted, General Dix, was one of his faithful sympathizers and supporters. The names signed to the call include some of the most eminent public men at that time in public life. The convention was known as the National Union Convention.

UNION PACIFIC COMPANY, President's Office,
Private. 20 Nassau St.,
New York, 14 June, 1866.

My dear Sir: I rec'd a letter from Genl. G. Clay Smith yesterday asking me to come to Washington the last of this week or the first of next to see you & some other gentlemen in regard to polit-

ical matters. I fear it will be impossible, as I am just now kept here awaiting very important communications in regard to the Union Pacific R. Road from Nebraska.

Fortunately, however, Judge Pierrepont, who with myself & some other democrats led off against the Chicago Convention in 1864, went to Washington this morning. He will be at Willards. He is a man of influence & his opinions reflect fairly those of the War Democrats here. I wish you could see him. Indeed, I think it important. But he may not feel exactly at liberty to do so without a suggestion from you.

I have dropped a line to Genl. Smith by this mail.

In great haste,

Very truly yours,

Hon. J. R. Doolittle.

John A. Dix.

New York, 10 July, 1863.

My dear Sir: I am doing all in my power to bring the right kind of men into the Philadelphia Convention. Our danger is that the men, whom we do not want, will get in to cover up their past political sins. This would be a most serious injury, & might imperil the whole movement.

I am very busy with the great railroad, and may not be able to do so much as I otherwise could; but I have arranged with Judge Pierrepont to see our most reliable and active men, and by next week I hope to be able to give you some definite information as to what can be done. There will be, I hope, a full delegation from this State, & it is indispensable that it should be of men of the right stamp.

I just learn that you are likely to adjourn this week. Do not fail to let us see you here as you go home. I think there is a general disposition to organize against the radical majority in Congress, and there is a corresponding anxiety to have the movement so managed as to insure success.

Yours very truly,

Hon. J. R. Doolittle.

John A. Dix.

P. S.—I will procure & send you my letter to the Brooklyn meeting in support of the President's plan of restoration.

New York, 13 July, 1866.

My dear Sir: I have received the call signed by yourself and others for a National Union Convention in Philadelphia on the 14th Aug. I concur in its propositions, its reasonings & its objects, and will do all in my power to carry them out.

I long since expressed the opinion that the States were entitled to their representation in Congress; that their exclusion was a violation of good faith and of the obligations of the Constitution; and that a persistence in such a policy must lead to consequences most disastrous to the peace and prosperity of the country.

These and other considerations connected with the present unsatisfactory relations of the States to the federal government and to each other render most timely and proper such a meeting as you have recommended of the patriotic and reflecting men of the Union to consult together for the general welfare.

I am truly yours,

Hon. Jas. R. Doolittle.

John A. Dix.

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY, President's Office.
20 Nassau St.,

New York, 20. July, 1866.

Dear Sir: I have just rec'd yours of the 18th & am glad my letter was what you wished.

It is settled that the democratic organization in this state, as such, will not be represented at the Phila. Convention. This is as it should be. The Union men should be prominent in order to make it successful. I think by the 1. of Aug. the delegations from all the Congress Districts will be complete by separate action. We are now talking about the best mode of appointing State delegates. D. D. Field was to call a meeting at Albany. If this is not done, there will be a movement here for the purpose. I am only waiting for the return of Judge Pierrepont, who has been absent ten days, to consult with him, Morgan, Hoffman & others.

In regard to the naval office, I have expressed no opinion whatever, but have refused to recommend any candidate. If the President had said anything to me, I should have been very frank with him. He has been very unfortunate in the appointment of a Col-

lector. That office, which should have been a tower of strength to him, is not of the slightest account. Mr. Smythe is an amiable gentleman; but his sight is such that the duties of the office must be discharged by subordinates; and he has no political influence or *status even*. I say this as a proper introduction to the subject—the naval office. It is one of the utmost importance, and more especially when the Collectorship is so filled. The naval office, tho, not generally understood, is a perfect check on the Collector's. There can be no defalcation, no fraud, no irregularity in the latter if the former is properly administered. Formerly the first men in the State were selected for the office. Michael Hoffman, one of the ablest men this State ever produced, once filled it. The President should, under existing circumstances, select such a man if he can find one to take it. I do not know who all the candidates are; but I have declined to recommend five or six.

What I say is *strictly confidential*, tho' I have no objection that you should communicate it to the President, should he desire to know what I think. I will only add that the duties of the naval officer are by no means engrossing & he would have time to be useful to the government in other ways.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours Sincerely,

John A. Dix.

I have found the paper (World of 26 April) containing my letter approving the President's policy & send it in another envelope.

Private.

N. Y., 23. July, 1866.

Dear Sir: I was very much disappointed not to see you yesterday. I saw Mr. Field & Mr. Weed and telegraphed you to come directly to my house, where you could have seen them quietly, as well as Mr. Wood.

It is very important that you should see Mr. Field & Mr. Weed. The latter remained here over Sunday to see you. A paper was presented to me calling a State Convention, to be signed by some democrats, & republicans who were friends of Mr. Seward, leaving Mr. Field & the old democrats of the republican party out. This will not do.

I am sorry that the democracy of Ohio & Penn. go in as organizations. It will seriously injure the movement, and they should stand back. The republicans & war democrats should take the lead & let others come in as individuals.

Are you coming here? I can go to Washington the last of the week, if necessary.

I think of going to Luzerne this evening, but shall be back Thursday morning.

Yours very truly,
John A. Dix.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle.

Paris 8. January, 1867.

LEGATION
des Etats Unis.

My dear Sir:—

Yours of the 23rd is rec'd. I concur with you fully in the opinion you entertain in regard to *all* the causes which contributed to our defeat last fall. In regard to the future I have, I confess, no distinct impression except this—that we cannot count upon any wise or disinterested action by the Democratic party with its present leadership, and if it changes its leaders at all, I think it will be to put forth others of the same stamp. I have, therefore, no hope except in the formation of a conservative party, with loyal men, & preferably, republicans at its head. If Messrs. Wade, Howard, and others will take the lead in this movement, I shall have new hope that something will be accomplished. I shall look with great interest to your proceedings.

In regard to myself I have not had, and do not mean to have, a moment of uneasiness. Should a majority of the Senate refuse to assent to my appointment, I think I am philosopher enough to bear it. I hope, in that case, that in justice to me, the injunction of secrecy may be removed from the proceedings.

Here everything is on the most satisfactory footing. The Emperor is doing all he can to get out of Mexico, and in March the whole French force will be withdrawn. My address suffered so much in the translation for the monitequs into French and back

again into English for Galigmani that I scarcely recognized some passages. I sent a correct copy to the State Department. The Emperor's reply was even warmer than was reported. Of his friendly sentiments, & his readiness to do anything to preserve amicable relations with us, there is not the slightest doubt.

I am writing for the mail and am obliged to close. I will advise you if there is anything interesting here, and pray let me hear from you.—

Yours very truly,

JOHN A. DIX.

I will write to my friends about your son.

A MORAVIAN MISSION TO THE WESTERN INDIANS IN 1758

BY T. J. CHAPMAN

IN the middle of July, 1758, Christian Frederick Post received orders from the governor of Pennsylvania to proceed to the western part of the province and endeavor to withdraw the Indian tribes there from the French interest. Post was an unassuming Moravian preacher who had come from Germany in 1742. For several years he had preached among the Indians, and he had married a baptized Indian woman. His own temperament and his intimate knowledge of the Indian character caused him to be well fitted for the duty with which he was entrusted. He was accompanied by Tom Hickman, an interpreter, and a number of Indians, among them Pisquetumen and Wellemeghihink.¹

The Indians were at Germantown, a hamlet a few miles north of Philadelphia. When Post arrived there on the fifteenth of July, he found them all drunk, except Wellemeghihink, who had gone to Philadelphia for a horse that had been promised him. Post waited until near noon the next day for the return of the Indian, and when he came he was so drunk that he could get no farther, and the expedition proceeded without him. Post had a good deal of trouble to get his Indians off, as they made out to be generally either drunk or sick; but on the sixteenth of the month he was properly started on his perilous journey.

At Fort Allen, where he arrived on the twentieth, he met with serious opposition from King Teedyuscung. Two years before, at Easton, Teedyuscung had made a treaty of peace and friendship with the English. He was now about fifty years old. He is described in the records of the time as "a lusty, rawboned man, haughty and very desirous of respect and command." He

1. In the "Pennsylvania Archives" we find this name printed Willm. McKaking. See Vol. III, p. 520. In Proud's "History of Pennsylvania" it appears as Willamegickken and Wellemeghihink. See Vol. II, appendix.

had also a great capacity for firewater. "He can drink three quarts or a gallon of rum a day without being drunk." Hence there is no telling what quantity he must have imbibed on those festive occasions when he became intoxicated, as at the council at Easton, when it is said that he and "his wild company were perfectly drunk, very much on the Gascoon, and at times abusive to the inhabitants." He was also "full of himself, saying frequently that which side soever he took must stand, and the other fall." He declared that he had been made king by ten nations, namely, the united Six Nations, and the Delawares, Shawanese, Mohicans and Munceys. "He carried the belt of peace with him," he said, "and whoever would might take hold of it." At this treaty he declared that he was present by the appointment of these nations, and that what he did they would all confirm. Yet a day or two afterwards he qualified this statement. He was not sure that he could prevail on the Ohio Indians. "I cannot tell," he said, "that they will leave off doing mischief;" and he advised the English to make themselves strong on that side. He was right as to the Indians on the Ohio. His treaty was effective so far as regarded the Indians on the Susquehanna, but the tribes in the Ohio Valley scouted his authority.

Teedyuscung now protested against Post's proceeding on his mission. "His reasons were," says Post, "that he was afraid the Indians would kill me, or the French get me; and if that should be the case he should be very sorry, and did not know what he should do." His opposition was such that but three of the Indians offered to go any farther with Post. "We concluded," says Post, "to go through the inhabitants, under the Blue mountains, to Fort Augusta, on Susquehanna." This fort stood at Shamokin, where Sunbury now stands. It was built in the summer of 1756. Post arrived there on the twenty-fifth of July.

"It gave me great pain," he says, "to observe many plantations deserted and laid waste, and I could not but reflect on the distress the poor owners must be drove to, who once lived in plenty, and I prayed the Lord to restore peace and prosperity to the distressed."

2. "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. II, page 724.

At Fort Augusta the unpleasant news was brought by some Indians that the English army had been destroyed at Ticonderoga, which so discouraged one of his companions, "Lappopeting's son," that he refused to accompany the expedition any farther. This reduced the original company to only two men, evidently Pisquetumen and Tom Hickman. He must here have recruited his force, as we know that he afterwards had at least four men with him. One of those whom he here picked up was Shamokin Daniel, and Shamokin Daniel afterwards turned out to be a thorn in the flesh.³ At the fort they were furnished with everything necessary for the journey, and on the twenty-seventh they "set out with good courage." After various adventures they came, on the seventh of August, in sight of Fort Venango.⁴ "I prayed the Lord to blind them," says Post, "as he did the enemies of Lot and Elisha, that I might pass unknown." They slept that night within half gunshot of the fort. On the tenth they met an Indian, and one whom Post believed to be a renegade English trader, from whom they learned that they had lost the way, and that they were within twenty miles of Fort Dequesne. Upon this they struck off to the right, and slept that night "between two mountains." On the second day after this they came to the Connaquenessing, or, as Post writes it, the Conaquanoshon, where, he says, was an old Indian town, fifteen miles from Kushkushkee.⁵

"The point at which Post saw the Conaquanoshon was probably about where Harmony now stands, as this village is just fifteen miles in a straight line from Newport, which occupies the sight of Cusheuschunk, or Kosh-kosh-kung. If this supposition is correct there must have then been, in 1758, 'an old Indian town' upon or very near the ground on which Harmony is built."⁶

3. The Indians at Shamokin were a very depraved set. Good David Brainerd, who had visited them some years before, says of them: "The Indians of this place are accounted the most drunken, mischievous and ruffian-like fellows of any in these parts; and Satan seems to have his seat in this town in an eminent manner."—Brainerd's "Diary," Sept. 13, 1745.

4. This was the French fort at the mouth of French creek. It was called by the French, Fort Machault.

5. This name is variously spelled in the old records. In Weiser's journal it is written Coscosky; in Washington's journal, Kuskusgo; in Post's journal, Kushkushko; while two other varieties of spelling are seen above.

6. "History of Butler County, Pennsylvania," p. 15.

From this point they sent Pisquetumen to Kuskushkee in advance of the party, with a message of friendship and explanation. About noon they met some Shawanese that had formerly lived at Wyoming. They knew Post, and greeted him very kindly. "I saluted them," says he, "and assured them the government of Pennsylvania wished them well, and wished to live in peace and friendship with them." Before they reached the town, two men came out to meet them and bring them in. King Beaver seemed to be the chief man in the place. He received them and showed them a large house in which they could lodge. The news soon spread, and the people gathered about to see them. There were about sixty young warriors who came and shook hands with them.

King Beaver spoke to the people.

"Boys," said he, "hearken. We sat here without ever expecting again to see our brethren, the English; but now one of them is brought before you that you may see your brethren, the English, with your own eyes; and I wish you may take it into consideration."

Then turning to Post, he said:

"Brother, I am very glad to see you; I never thought we should have had the opportunity to see one another more; but now I am very glad, and thank God, who has brought you to us. It is a great satisfaction to me."

To this address of welcome Post replied:

"Brother, I rejoice in my heart; I thank God, who has brought me to you. I bring you joyful news from the governor and people of Pennsylvania, and from your children, the Friends; and, as I have words of great consequence, I will lay them before you when all the kings and captains are called together from the other towns.

Messengers were at once dispatched to the surrounding towns and villages, but it was not until the seventeenth of the month that the different "kings and captains" could be got together. In the meantime Post had been treated with the greatest kindness. The Indians seemed really pleased that he had visited them.

Thy came to his lodgings, where they would remain and dance sometimes until after midnight. Some Frenchmen, who were in the town building houses for the Indians, also came to see him. Among those who came to the great council were two Indian captains from Fort Duquesne. They were very surly.

"When I went to shake hands with one of them," says Post, "he gave me his little finger; the other withdrew his hand entirely; upon which I appeared as stout as either, and withdrew my hand as quick as I could. Their rudeness to me," he adds, "was taken very ill by the other captains, who treated them in the same manner in their turn."

With these two messengers from Fort Duquesne, had come a French captain and fifteen men. But Post would have nothing to do with them; he had been sent to the Indians, he said, and not to the French. In the councils that followed, the Indians expressed a desire for peace.

"All the Indians," said they, "a great way from this, even beyond the lakes, wish for a peace with the English, and have desired us, as we are the nearest of kin, if we see the English incline to a peace, to hold it fast."

They entirely ignored Teedyuscung, however, and would not hear of any treaty that had been made by him. But, as they said, they could not make peace alone; it was necessary that all should join in it, or it could be no peace. They therefore proposed to go to a neighboring town called Sawkunk,⁷ and consider the matter further there. To this Post consented, and they set out on the twentieth. The party consisted of twenty-five horsemen and fifteen foot, and they arrived at Sawkunk in the afternoon. Post's reception there was not so friendly as at Kushkushkee. "The people of the town were much disturbed at my coming," says he, "and received me in a very rough manner. They surrounded me with drawn knives in their hands, in such a manner that I could hardly get along." They evidently thirsted for his blood, and seemed to desire some pretense to kill him; but some Indians coming up, whom Post had formerly known, and who

7. Sawkunk was an important Indian town at the confluence of the Big Beaver and Ohio rivers. The name signifies "at the mouth," or where one stream flows into another. See Boyd's "Indian Local Names," p. 43.

now greeted him in a friendly manner, the behavior of the others quickly changed.

Here it was proposed that he should proceed to Fort Duquesne, as there were eight different nations there who desired to hear his message. To this Post earnestly objected, but in vain; the Indians insisted, telling him he need not fear the French, that they would carry him "in their bosoms." They accordingly set out for the fort, but went only so far as Logstown that day. The next day, August 24, they continued their journey, and in the afternoon came in sight of the fort. They did not cross over, but remained on the north bank of the river. As they had come up the river from Logstown, the place where they halted was, perhaps, a little below the point where the fort stood. Immediately all the Indian chiefs at the fort crossed over, when King Beaver presented Post to them, saying: "Here is our English brother, who has brought great news." Some of the chiefs signified their pleasure at seeing him; but one old, deaf Onondago denounced him. "I do not know this Swannock," said he; "it may be that you know him. I, the Shawanese, and our father, do not know him." The next day, however, he acknowledged that he had been wrong; he said that "he had now cleaned himself," and hoped they would forgive him.

The French, and some of the Indians, demanded that Post should be sent into the fort; but the other Indians would not hear of this. On the twenty-fifth the chiefs assembled again and had a great deal of counselling among themselves. The French were still intriguing to get Post into their hands, but his friends would not give him up. He was told not to stir from the fire, for the French had offered a great reward for his scalp, and that some parties were desirous to secure it. "Accordingly I stuck constantly as close to the fire," says he, "as if I had been chained there." The following day the Indians and a number of the French officers crossed the river again to hear what Post had to say. They brought with them a table and writing materials, to take down what might be said. Post stood among them and spoke at considerable length "with a free conscience." The French, he says, did not seem pleased with his speech.

"Brethren at Allegheny," said he, "hear what I say: Every

one that lays hold of this belt of peace, I proclaim peace to them from the English nation, and let you know that the great king of England does not incline to have war with the Indians; but he wants to live in peace and love with them, if they will lay down the hatchet and leave off war with him. We let you know that the great king of England has sent a great number of warriors into this country, not to go to war with the Indians in their towns, no, not at all; these warriors are going against the French. By this belt I take you by the hand, and lead you at a distance from the French, for your own safety, that your legs may not be stained with blood. Come away on this side the mountain, where we may oftener converse together, and where your own flesh and blood lives. I have almost finished what I had to say, and hope it will be to your satisfaction. My wish is that we may join close together in that old brotherly love and friendship which our garndfathers had, so that all the nations may hear and see us, and have the benefit of it; and if you have any uneasiness or complaint in your heart and mind, do not keep it to yourself. We have opened the road to the council fire, therefore, my brethren, come and acquaint the governor with it; you will be readily heard, and full justice will be done you."

After the council the French and Indians returned to the fort, except Post's companions, who were about seventy in number. One of the latter, however, Shamokin Daniel, went over to the fort, though his comrades disapproved it. Here he had some conversation with the commandant, and soon returned with a laced coat and hat, a blauket, shirts, ribbons, a new gun, powder, lead, etc. He was quite a changed man. He reviled Post and the English, and "behaved in a very proud, saucy and imperious manner." Post was informed that as soon as they got back to the fort, the French proposed to the Indians to cut off Post and his party. To this the Indians would not consent. "The Del-awares," said they, "are a strong people, and are spread to a great distance, and whatever they agree to must be." The French again insisted that Post must be delivered up to them; but the Indians refused to do so, except the traitorous Shamokin Daniel, who had received a string of Wampum to leave him there. Post's friends then determined that he should set off the next morning before day, which he did. They returned through Sawkunk, and arrived at Kushkushkee in the evening of the twenty-eighth.

Pisquetumen, Tom Hiskman, Shingiss, and the rascally Shamo-kin Daniel were of the party.

Though the Delawares had treated Post kindly, and had refused to deliver him to the French, they were not ready yet to surrender themselves to the English cause. They were suspicious of the English, and of their good intentions.

"It is told us," said they, after they had got back to Kuskushkee, "that you and the French contrived the war to waste the Indians between you; and then you and the French intended to divide the land between you. This was told us by the chief of the Indian traders; and they said further, 'Brothers, this is the last time we shall come among you, for the French and English intend to kill all the Indians, and then divide the land among themselves.'"

Post made answer to this:

"I am very sorry to see you so jealous. I am your own flesh and blood, and sooner than I would tell you any story that would be of hurt to you or your children, I would suffer death. And if I did not know that it was the desire of the governor that we should renew our brotherly love and friendship that subsisted between our grandfathers, I would not have undertaken this journey. I do assure you of mine and the people's honesty."

In a council held on the fourth of Septemebr, the chiefs addressing him, said:

"Brother, you very well know that you have collected all your young men about the country, which makes a large body, and now they are standing before our doors. You come with good news and fine speeches. This is what makes us jealous, and we do not know what to think of it. If you had brought the news of peace before your army had begun to march, it would have caused a great deal more good. We do not so readily believe you, because a great many great men and traders have told us, long before the war, that you and the French intended to join and cut all the Indians off."

To this speech Post replied:

"Brothers, I love you from the bottom of my heart. I am extremely sorry to see the jealousy so deeply rooted in your

hearts and minds. I have told you the truth; and yet, if I was to tell it you a hundred times, it seems you would not rightly believe me. I do now declare, before God, that the English never did, nor never will, join with the French to destroy you."

Having performed the task that had been given him to do, Post now desired to return home; but the Indians, on one pretext or another, delayed him day after day. They were not entirely satisfied in their minds.

"It is a troublesome cross and heavy yoke to draw this people," wrote Post; "they can punish and squeeze a body's heart to the utmost. My heart has been very heavy here, because they kept me for no purpose. The Lord knows how they have been counselling about my life; but they did not know who was my Protector and Deliverer."

At length, however, on the afternoon of the eighth of September, Post and his party set off from Kushkushkee, and proceeded ten miles on their return journey. They suffered much from hunger and exposure on the way, and were in great danger from the enemy, but finally arrived at Fort Augusta, on the twenty-second, "very weary and hungry, but greatly rejoiced of our return from this tedious journey."

